

KASHMIR

A Kaleidoscopic View

D.N. Dhar

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Phones : 2327 0497, 2328 8285

Fax : 011-2328 8285

e-mail: kanishka_publishing@yahoo.co.in

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Preface

To the memory of my brother
J.N. DHAR

The seasons change like the moods of Chopana. The spring excites with flowering peach, almond blossoms, the narcissus, daffodils, daisies, the iris and above all the blood red nupur. The summer comes with pleasant morning breeze, showering cascades of sunset flowers and fruits, and lotuses nodding their heads over the shimmering waters of the Dal. The autumn is symbolised by the majestic chinar with burnished leaves and variety of hues in perfect relief. The winter shrouds one with dancing flakes of snow and the trees, plants and houses present beautiful figures showing the broad contours under a thick cover of snow.

Under such bracing natural environment people could not but get influenced, inspiring them to shape a culture rich in thought, aesthetics and art. According Abhinav Gupta to knead nature into a work of art is near approximation to the knowledge of a god-head. "The beautiful objects of nature motivated the ancient people to anthropomorphise them giving expression to their dees about the world and its being. They thought that the nature was the manifestation of an all pervading force that is 'Siva' and worshipped it

Preface

As if preordained, Kashmir valley has been cast in nature's design. The continual chain of mountain ranges with sparkling snows encircle it all round. The glaciers and other perennial deposits of snow have caused many lakes, springs, streams and rivulets contributing to valley's main river—*Vitasta*, deriving its nomenclature from *Rigveda*. The rushing of rivulets and streams criss-cross every vale and dale, presenting a pattern so pleasing to the eye. In their course running over boulders making waterfalls and rippling over pebbly beds, they rush in a sort of rhythm making twists and turns amidst the green paddy fields and growing grooves of willows along their banks to join the *Vitasta*.

The seasons change like the moods of *Cleopatra*. The spring excites with flowering peach, almond blossoms, the narcissus, daffodils, daisies, the iris and above all the blood red tulip. The summer enters with pleasant morning breeze, showering cascades of scented flowers and fruits, and lotuses tossing their heads over the shimmering waters of the Dal. The autumn is symbolized by the majestic chinar with burnished leaves and variety of hues in perfect relief. The winter thrills one with dancing flakes of snow and the trees, plants and houses present beautiful figures showing the broad contours under a thick cover of snow.

Under such bracing natural environment people could not but get influenced, inspiring them to shape a culture rich in thought, aesthetics and arts. According Abhinav Gupta 'to knead nature into a work of art is near approximation to the knowledge of a god-head'. "The beautiful objects of nature motivated the ancient people to anthropomorphise them giving expression to their views about the world and it's *Being*. They thought that the nature was the manifestation of an all pervading force that is '*Siva*' and worshipped it

in different forms. Following the course of *pantheism*, Kashmir sculptors created aesthetically rich and beautiful forms of gods and goddesses in stone and metals, representing various manifestations of that *Supreme Being* and built lofty temples to worship them." No wonder, therefore, that Kashmir has written a glorious chapter in history, rich in philosophy, arts and literature. It has its brand of *Saivism*, the stunning ruins of a temple in stone at Martand and the most delicate web of *Pashmina shawl* woven along with its design on the loom.

Kashmir has ancient history and it is being established that it was the part of *Indus Vally Civilization*. Because of its natural grandeur and strategic importance, it has been, always, under the focus of interested powers. It has been an obsession with our neighbour – Pakistan. They have not reconciled with Kashmir's accession to India. For the last fifty seven years they have been attempting to annex Kashmir by force. They have been using all means – Overt and Covert. Presently they have adopted cross border terrorism.

Kashmir, therefore, is a multi-dimensional identity – Historical, cultural and political. This work has examined its connection with remote past, its cultural and philosophical glory, social development and its political complications under the back drop of its specific geographical setting and natures sway having bearing over the people.

This book is based on authors presentations in various seminars, national and international and several published articles. For instance, '*The Shawl - a gift of Kashmirs Cultural Heritage*' was presented in an international seminar at the Museum of Mankind at Bhopal held between 3rd and 5th March, 2000. It was sponsored by Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation and Indira Gandhi Manav Sangrahalaya. The subject was Cultural Heritage of Indian Himalayas. '*The Dynamics of Change in Class relations in Kashmir*' was presented at a seminar on 'Society and Culture in Himalayas' at Jawahar Lal Nehru University. It was sponsored by Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation between Dec. 9th and 11th, 1991. Yet one more paper on "*Cultural Glory of Ancient Kashmir*" was presented by the author at *Abhinov Theatre*, Jammu, between 29th Feb. and 2nd March,

2004. The seminar was sponsored by Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation supported by Department of Culture, Ministry of Tourism and Culture. The subject of the seminar was the 'Cultural Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir'.

There are a few chapters which constitute the published articles of the author highlighting the political questions and unravelling the true nature of facts about them. Pakistan's lies regarding their claim over Kashmir have been exposed. "The Genesis of Terrorism" gives minutest details about terrorism in Kashmir. It details its historical background, its sponsorship by Pakistan and the damage it caused to Kashmir's cultural ethos, life and property.

Examining all these dimensions of Kashmirs identity forms the main content of the work—Kashmir, a kaleidoscopic view.

D.N. DHAR

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Kashmir Cast in Nature's Design: Myth and the Legend

"Kashmir owes its historical unity and isolation to the same facts which give to its geographical position a distinct, and in some respects almost unique character. We find here a fertile plain embedded among high mountain ranges, a valley large enough to form a kingdom for itself and capable of supporting a highly-developed civilization."¹

Oval shaped as it is, the valley (its plain part) is 84 miles in length from south-east to north-west and 20 to 25 miles in width. Its area is 1,800 to 1,900 sq. miles.² Including mountain slopes out of which arise an unbroken ring of high mountain ranges, the area of the valley is 3,900 sq. miles. The slopes descend towards the central plain. Numerous rivers and streams down the slopes after joining the great *Vitasta* drain all parts of the valley.

The unique river system of the valley owes its existence to the presence of beautiful lakes and tarns and, numerous springs all fed by huge glaciers so dispersed by nature's design over or near the famous mountain ranges.

That Kashmir valley was a lake according to a well-established legend is now geologically confirmed. The great chronicler Kalhan Pandita mentions about this legend in detail.³ Hieun Tsang explains the legend in Buddhistic form.⁴ Drew and Godwin Austin have attributed it to the fact that there existed, lacustrine deposits in the, what are called, '*Udars*' or '*Karewa*' plateaus of the valley. The physical facts also support the belief, that the valley in that era passed through the late geological times.

The alluvial plain of the valley is precisely the creation of its river system and the sources of their origin. The three important mountain ranges enclose Kashmir valley:

1. *Pir-Panjal* range from South to West.
2. Mountain range from North-West to North.
3. Mountain range from East to South-West.

The *Pir-Panjal* forms the south and south-west boundary of Kashmir valley. It begins from the southern most part of the valley where the famous Jawahar Tunnel (Banihal) is located. The chain moves ahead about 35 miles from the east to the west and then turns to the north-north west. Running further for about 50 miles it reaches and then descends towards the valley of *Vitasta*.

Moving towards west from the Jawahar Tunnel, we come to a group of three conspicuous snowy peaks (western most) towards the side of Kashmir Valley. Nearby lie the beautiful lake *Konsar Nag* (or *Vishnu-Pad*). At a point where this range changes direction towards north-west a small range called *Rattan Pir* branches from this range. It is here near Darhal pass that we find so many tarns out of which *Nandansar* lake is well-known. It is two miles long. *Nandansar* has been mentioned as *Nandan Naga* in *Nilamata Purana*.

Coming down about seven miles in the valley of *Rambyar* we come to the points where the streams coming from *Pir Panjal* and *Rupri* passes join together. Then this range culminates to its highest elevation in the shape of a famous snowy peak, *Tatkuti*, only a short distance from *Cotigali* pass. The range then continues a higher elevation for a considerable distance till it is crossed by various passes, *Sang-Safed*, *Cor-Gali* and *Tosmaidan*. The famous hill station of *Gulmarg* is not far away from this point.

A great range of mountains enclose the valley from north-west. This mountain chain does not show any break in its continuity though it often changes direction. The range turns towards the east when its summit comes nearest *Kishen Ganga*. It maintains its higher elevation for about a hundred miles.

In the valley of *Kishen Ganga*, there exists a river system which meet in a confluence near historically important place—*Sardi*. These rivers are *Kishen Ganga*, *Madhumati* and *Saraswati* (*Kankotri*).

The summits of the range slowly increase beyond *Dudkhut* pass till it reaches the great *Harmukh* peaks rising 1,700 feet above the sea level. The peaks are surrounded by the glaciers of considerable magnitude. The glaciers at *Harmukh* have given birth to so many lakes—*Gangabal*, *Nandisars* and *Brahmasaras* etc.

The lakes fed by these glaciers belong to the holiest of Kashmirian Tirthas. The ancient name of *Harmukh* is *Harmukhta*—the diadem of Siva. The *Gangabal Lake* is believed to be the true source of *Kashmir Ganga* or Sindhi river and is spoken as *Uttara-Ganga*. *Nandi-Saras* is the ancient name of *Nandkol*. It was also called *Kalodaka* in ancient times. According to the legend, it is the joint habitation of *Kala* i.e. *Siva* and his faithful *Nandin*.⁶ *Brahmsaras* lake is situated on a ridge of *Harmukh* mass of mountains known as *Bharata Giri*.

In a continual chain we come across a ring of snowy mountains which stretch from the Mount *Nanga Parvat* to the *Nunkun peaks* in Deru in south-easterly direction. At the lowest water-shed a few miles south of this junction, there is a pass known as *Zojila*. The watershed demarcates the Indus and Vitasta basins. Ten miles east and south-east of the *Zojila*, a high peak marks the point wherefrom a mountain range branches off forming the boundary of Kashmir. This branch continues upto the southern most head waters of the *Vitasta* and thus completes the mountain ring around Kashmir Valley.

In this range, near famous *Amarnath* Cave lies the well-known lake *Sesnag*. Across a high pass *Vaujan*, a high level valley is drained by five streams which are jointly given the name of *Panch Tarangini*. Descending from here into what is known as gloomy valley, at the foot of *Amarnath* Cave, we come across a forceful stream known as *Amravati*, coming from a glacier of a still higher peak to the east. After joining the *Panch Tarangini*, it flows through a gorge down to the Head of Sindh Valley near Baltal and joins the Sindh.

These mountain ranges, carrying in their lap the huge glaciers, lakes and tarns give rise to the alluvium of *Vitasta*—the Valley of Kashmir.

The *Vitasta* (The Jehlum as it is called when it enters the Punjab) derives its name from Rigveda.⁷ According to an ancient

legend described by *Nilamata Purana* and reproduced by *Haraceritamani*⁸ in detail, *Vitasta* is the manifestation of *Sivas Consort*, *Parvati*. *Siva* after the prayer made by Kashyapa, directed the goddess to show herself in the land in the shape of a river to purify the inhabitants from the sinful contact of *Pisacas*. Thereupon the goddess assuming the form of a river in the underworld requested her consort to, make an opening through which she would come to surface. The *Siva*, then struck an opening with the point of a strident at *Nila Naga*. The opening thus made, measured one '*Vitasti*' or a span. The water gushed out and this led to the origin of the name.

It is interesting to note that according to the legend the *Vitasta* disappeared due to defilement of the sinful⁹ and appeared a second time due to the prayer and penance of Kashyapa. This time it appeared from the *Naga Panchasta* (present *Panzeth*) in the Divisar block of Anantnag district. There exists even at present a fine spring, venerated by the pious as a '*Tirtha*'. Other versions of the legend of its second appearance puts its origin at Vethvatur situated about a mile of the north-west of Verinag.¹⁰ But during Kalhana's time the source of the *Vitasta* was Nilakunda or Nilnaga near Verinag.

Only a short distance from Verinag, the *Vitasta* is joined by a river system constituted of the *Bringi* (*Bring*) the *Sandran* the *Harsapatha*¹¹ (*Arpath*) and the *Ledri*¹¹ (*Lidar*) and then it flows ahead in an elaborate fashion. While the *Sandran* receives its water from the Vethvathor springs, the *Bringi* is the recipient of waters from *Trisandhya* and other springs in the Shahbad block. The *Arpath* drains the *Kuthar* catchment area and is supplemented by the magnificent springs of Achabal. The *Lider* from the north joins them at *Ganbirsangma* (*Sangam*) a short distance from Anantnag town. The *Lider* receives a number of glacier-fed streams draining the high range towards upper Sindh Valley. Before joining *Vitasta* the *Lider*, divides into several branches in the areas of '*Dachnipora*' and '*Khooverpora*' besides feeding an important irrigation canal over eastern hillside and passes over famous Martanda temple.

From *Sangam* onwards the river flows smoothly and is navigable. It is from this point that the flat plain stretches on

both sides of the river till it reaches Baramulla in north-west of the valley. The fall of the river is very slow; only 220 feet¹³ upto *Votur* Lake which is at a distance of about 54 miles. The bed of the river is in alluvial soil.

On its march from *Sangam*, the river receives several branches of *Aider*. About a few miles down the river, near village *Marhama* the *Vitasta* is joined by the *Visau* and *Rambyar* rivers. The two, in fact, join a short distance before their confluence with the *Vitasta*. The *Visau* referred to as *Visoka* in *Nilamat Purana* and other chronicles,¹⁴ is a considerable river. Its source is *Konsar Nag* (*Krama-Saras*) lake on the *Pir Panjal*. First the river takes easterly direction and then turns to north to join *Vitasta* along with *Rambyar*. The famous waterfall which is formed by the stream from *Konsar Nag*, near *Sidau*, is known as *Aharbal*, *Akhor Bila*¹⁵ the mouse hole, in ancient times.

After leaving behind its mountainous part, many irrigation canals have been drawn from the *Visau*. One of the canals, *Sunmarikul* (*Suvaranmanikulya*)¹⁶ appears to be very ancient. It takes off from it near village *Largoo* and rejoins it near *Arvin*. Another canal is drawn from *Visau* near *Koimoh* (*Katimusa*). It is named *Nandi*. It irrigates the land between the lower course of *Visau* and *Vitasta*.

Rambyar is mentioned by its ancient name of *Ramanyatvi* by *Kalhana* in his history while relating the legend of the burned city of *Narapura*.¹⁷ The river leaves behind the mountain belt near *Hurpor* and then flows ahead divided in many channels within a gradually widening bed of rubble and boulders. After attaining a width of over two miles, the bed contracts above the village *Litr*. For the rest of the course *Rambyar* flows in a single narrow channel deeply cut in alluvial soil.

There is a local legend¹⁸ assigning reason for the land belt rendered wasteful due to rubble and boulders. It is all attributed to *Nagi Ramanya*. It is believed that the *Nagi* had come down from mountains with masses of stones to support her brother, *Susravas Naga* in the destruction of *Narapura*. When she came to know that he had already completed the job, she dropped the

stones more than a 'Yojna' from the site of doomed city. The distance indicated, exactly corresponds to village Litr.¹⁹

Onwards from *Sangam Vitasta* receives from the right side the stream which drains the area called Halda in ancient times. It then passes by the side of *Vastruan* spur near Avantipur. From here no important stream joins the river from the left side, till the river reaches Srinagar. Small affluents like Romus are small in volume and do not even reach the *Vitasta* resulting in vast marshy lands in that belt.

At Srinagar *Vitasta* is joined first by *Tsunth Kol*, with ancient appellation of *Mahasarit*.²⁰ It drains the famous Dal Lake (the *Dala*) and joins the *Vitasta* at the south-east extremity of Srinagar. This canal passes through an ancient embankment (*Setu*) which protects the city as well as the low shores of the *Dal* from the floods of the river. This ancient embankment figures in the traditional account of the foundation of the city of Srinagar.²¹ The inflow and the outflow of the Dal Lake is regulated by a Gate at Druggen. Another branch of the *Dal* outflow through the marsh known as *Brari Nambal* enters the city of Srinagar and was known as *Mar* or *Mari*. It flowed parallel to river *Vitasta* in the right bank upto *Narvor* and then moved towards the marshes of *Anchar*. Till recent times this canal was of great importance for transporting and supplying the produce (vegetables etc.) of the Dal Lake to the city population. Surprisingly instead of repairing the canal and improving the traffic the authorities have closed it and constructed a road over it. It has created a tremendous environmental problem for the city population. The construction of this canal upto Anchar Lake (now a marsh) is attributed to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin according to the historian Srivara. One more outlet to the Dal Lake is of recent origin and drains the *Dal* into *Anchar*. This outlet is known as *Nallah Amirkhan*.

The *Dala* which supplies water to *Mahasarit* is fed by plentiful springs and the stream from the north which originates from the *Marsar* Lake high up in the mountains to the east. Nearer the *Dal* Lake this stream is known as Tailabla Nallah, called *Tilaprashta* by Shrivara. The lake measures about four miles in length and two and a half in width. In its maximum depth it is 30 feet. Its southern

borders are fringed with lagoons and what are called floating gardens.

Near the confluence of Mahasarit with the Vitasta, a canal named as Kutkul (*Kispitikakulya*)²² takes off from the left bank of the river to join it again at the end of the city of Srinagar. Down below the point where Kutkul joins *Vitasta*, it is also joined by a forceful stream called *Dudganga*. Its ancient name in Bilhana's description of Srinagar is given as *Dugda Sindhu*. Mahatmyas know it as *Sveta Ganga*—the White Ganga. The source of the waters of this stream is *Pir Panjal* range near Mt. *Tatkuti*.

The Vitasta after leaving behind the city of Srinagar is flanked by large marshes across its right and left banks. On the left side are the well-known marshes of *Hokersar* and *Panzor Nambal*. These are fed by streams smaller in their volume and weaker in their flow. The delta of river Sindh feeds the marshes of larger dimensions on the right bank of the river.

The head waters of the Sindh are near the Zojila and *Amarnath* peak. Its traditional source is the *Gangabal* Lake on mount *Harmukh*. This great river drains the largest and the highest portion of the mountain chain in the north. Its course is 60 miles long. The Sindh is mentioned in *Rajtarangini*, the *Nilamata* and the Mahatmyas.²³ At Dudrhom (ancient *Dugdhashrama*) the Sindhu meets the plains and forms a delta by branching into many streams which feed marshes including the *Anchar*. Its sphere of impact forms a triangle. Eastern side is flanked by high ground connecting Srinagar with Sindh Valley, the western side runs down the lower Sindh Valley upto the point where the Sindhu joins *Vitasta*. River *Vitasta* forms the base of this triangle.

The confluence of *Vitasta* and the Sindhu enjoys the sanctity of great *Tirtha* for Kashmiri Hindus. The *Vitastasindhusangma* has been mentioned in *Rajtarangini*, the *Nilamata* and other texts. This confluence named as *Priyaga*, is the resultant of a confluence of Ganga, Jamuna and other rivers in India is a belief with Kashmirians.

While the *Priyaga* contained as it is today during the time of Kalhana Pandita, M.A. Stein has taken pains to identify this

confluence having originally existed about two miles south-east of Shadipur between the village of Trigam and *Parihaspura*. South of Trigam stands the temple ruin which Stein identifies as the Shrine of *Vishnu—Vainayaswamin*. This shrine according to Kalhana is the point near which "the two great rivers, the Sindhu and *Vitasta*, formerly met, flowing to the left and right of *Trigami*, respectively." Facing Shadipur at a point near, *Vainayaswamin* temple, on the left, there is a swamp and shallow nallah, we can find the old bed of Sindhu towards the direction of Shadipur. On the right, there is Badrihal nallah, connecting Panznor Nambal clearly marked as the old river bed by the formation of its banks.

Kalhana is of the view that *Vitasta Sindsamgama* (*Priyag*) came into existence due to the drainage operations of *Suya* during, *Avantiverman's* time. The operations were conducted at *Yaksdar* (present *Dyargul*) three miles below the commencement of *Baramulla* gorge. Here a mountain spur, projecting into the river bed caused on rocky foot and the first rapid of the *Vitasta*. *Suya* removed the rocks obstructing the flow of water and thus lowered the level of the water. Then he built a temporary stone dam across the bed of the river and stopped the river for about a week. During this period, "the river bed was cleaned at the bottom and stone walls constructed to protect it against rocks which might roll down.²⁴" Then he removed the dam and the water rushed with speed and continued as such says Kalhana, "The two great rivers, the Sindhu and the *Vitasta* which formerly met near (the temple of *Vishnu*) *Vainayaswamin*, flowing to the left and right of *Trigami* (respectively) have to this day in the vicinity of the city (*Srinagar*) their confluence which *Suya* first planned, and which will last to the end of the world.²⁵"

A few miles ahead of *Priyaga* (*Shadipur*) we reach a small town, *Sumbal*. Close to *Sumbal* over the right bank of the river, there exists an isolated hill about a thousand feet above the plain. On its north there is a small lake, *Mansbal* called as *Mansa* (*Saras*) by *Jonraj* and the *Nilamata*.²⁶ It is connected with river by a short channel and fed by an irrigation canal from river *Sindh*. The lake is about two miles long and is occupying a rock basin. It is deeper than other lakes in *Kashmir* valley plain.

Further down we pass into the villages to Utskund and Markund on the left bank of the river. Kalhana believes that these villages were actually reclaimed from *Volur* Lake.²⁷ Jonraj places them on the very shore of the lake.²⁸ On the other hand Shrivara believes that all the villages right from Suderkoth to the vicinity of Anderkoth were located on the bank of the *Volur* Lake.²⁹ It shows that *Volur* Lake extended upto Anderkoth in earlier times.

The word *Volur* is a derivative of the word *Ullola*³⁰—meaning turbulent or the lake with high going waves. Jonraj uses *Ullola* as a paraphrase for *Mahapadma*.³¹ *Mahapadma* is the ancient name of the lake and given the appellation after the tutelary deity of the lake Naga Mahapadma. Various legends cluster round the name of this lake. One of the legends carried by *Nilamata Purana* attributes this lake to the curse of Muni *Durvasa*.³² One Naga Sudangula used to elope with the women of the land. *Nila Naga* banished Sudangula to the land of *Durvasa*. After restoring normalcy in the land Muni *Durvasa* was not treated well in this land and therefore inflicted a curse on the land and filled the area with water again. On the other hand Kalhana, in his chronicle gives the credit of restoring the lake to King Jayapida after it has been dried up by Dravidian sorcerer.³³ The king had been approached by *Naga Mahapadma* for protection.

The *Mahapadma* (*Volur*) is very important from hydrographic point of view for the valley of Kashmir. It provides natural system and acts as a huge flood reservoir for the greatest part of the drainage of Kashmir valley. It gives a peculiar character to the western portion of the valley.

The *Volur* is fed by *Vitasta* and Bandipore nallah. This nallah drains the area between Mount *Harmukh* and Tragbal pass. The ancient name of this considerable nalla is *Madhumati*.³⁴ The dimensions of the lake change due to its low shores on its south being affected by floods. During the period of inundation the length of the lake is 13 miles and width eight miles. In the south and partly in the east the boundaries of the lake are ill-defined due to the peaty meadows and marshes which cannot but form the part of the lake.

At the south-west corner of the lake water finds its way out of the lake towards its onward march to Sopur, two miles away from the lake. The ancient name of Sopur is *Suyyapur* and founded by the great engineer of Avantiverman—Suya. Roughly about four miles from Sopur the *Vitasta* receives a tributary from the right. It is called Phuru. Before joining *Vitasta* it is joined by the Hamal and Maver streams. The Phuru drains the extreme north-west of the valley. About twelve miles from the confluence of Phuru with *Vitasta*, the great river reaches the entrance of the gorge of Baramulla. Below Baramulla, the river ceases to be navigable. It then rushes ahead in falls and rapids over rocks and boulders.

It is the river system of Kashmir which had led to the creation of the great flat of river alluvium which forms the lowest and the most fertile part of the Kashmir valley.

The valley other than its flat and fertile part consists of higher ground called "*Udars* or plateaus" Kalhana uses the word *Udar* when he speaks in reference to Damodar *Udar*.³⁵ '*Udars*' in Kashmir as geologists believe are supposed to have been formed due to lacustrine deposits. Most of the '*Udars*' are located on the south-western side of the valley—beginning from Shopian upto Baramulla. Some of these do exist on north-eastern side. Those '*Udars*' over which flow the streams from higher mountains have been brought under cultivation due to the availability of water. Other '*Udars*' are almost waste.

Some of the important '*Udars*' in the ancient topography of Kashmir are plateaus of Martanda, Chakradhara, Padmapur, Parihaspura and Damodhara.

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1. Rajat, Kalhana, Trans. Stein, M.A. Vol. II, p. 388.
2. Drew, *Jammoo*; p. 162.
3. Rajat, Book (i) vs. 25-27.
4. *Nilamata Purana*, vs. 26-237.
5. *Si-yu-ki*, Trans. Beal (i) p. 149.
6. The area of this river-system is under the illegal occupation of Pakistan.
7. Stein, M.A., *Rajat*, p. 407, Ancient Geography.

8. Stein, M.A., Rajat, p. 419.
9. Nilmata, 238 Sqq, *Haracerita*, XII, 2-31.
10. Stein, M.A, *Rajat*; Vol. II; p. 412.
11. *Vitastamhatmya*, (ii); 31 Sqq.
12. *Nilamata*, 232,1299 etc.
13. Rajat; Book (i), V. 87.
14. Drew, *Jammoo*; p. 163.
15. Rajat, Book (iv), note 5; p. 120.
16. Nilamata, Sqq. 283.
17. Rajat, Book (i), V. 97.
18. *Ibid.*, note 263-65, Book I; p. 40.
19. *Ibid.*, note 339-49, Book (iii); p. 100.
20. Rajat; Book (i) vs. 263-65.
21. *Ibid.*, note 339-49, Book (iii); p. 100.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Rajat, Book (viii), note 732.
24. Rajat, Book (i), (iv), (v); vs. 57, 391, 97 respectively. Jonraj; 982 Srivar, 110, 297 etc.
25. Rajat, Book (v), V. 92.
26. *Ibid.*, vs: 97-98.
27. Jonraj, Sq. 304, Nilamata, 1338.
28. Rajat, Book (v), V. 120.
29. Jonraj, 1230.
30. Srivar, (i) 400 Sq.
31. Jonraj, 1227-30.
32. Jonraj, *Commentary on Shrikatha Carita*, III, 9.
33. Nilamata, 976-1008 (carries details of the lake).
34. Rajat, Book (iv), V, 592.
35. Rajat, Book (viii), note 1179, Book (viii), V. 2883 Nilamata, 1059,1398 Sqq. etc.

Kashmir and *Indus-Valley Civilization*

For some time now, a few neo-intellectuals from Kashmir valley have been attempting to fiddle with the specialized field of scientific investigation and research in history to find out the origin of the people of Kashmir. A rash attempt is being made without acquiring the tools and working out the appropriate methodology to prove their hypothesis if they, at all fix one for themselves. Nor is a statement of source material prepared before moving ahead step by step to unravel the truth with evidence. Obviously the motive is to destroy history and put under debris what is already known so glaringly which can never be removed from the famous libraries of the world nor completely effaced from the soil of Kashmir. Every 'Kerwa' and every brick or a stray stone has a tale to narrate.

Much of the controversy about the origin of the people of Kashmir was settled by the excavation at *Burzahom*, Srinagar. *Carbon 14 dating* tests obtained from the various samples from the excavation showed that Kashmir Neolithic culture flourished side by side with *Indus-valley civilization*. The results obtained from the samples were:

Index	No. of the Sample	Radio Carbon Dates
TF	15	3498 + 108
TF	129	3775 + 100
TF	13	3800 + 128
TF	14	3975 + 350
TF	127	4050 + 115
TF	123	4175 + 115
TF	128	4325 + 120

[The dates can be arrived at by subtracting 1950 year from the dates in the table].

It is not only the timing of the existence of the *Burzahom* culture during the same period which alludes to the fact that it was the part of Indus-Valley Civilization, but also the comparison of skeletal remains with Neolithic sites—*Tekkalakoto*, *Najarjuna* and *Piklihal*—have yielded stunning results towards this direction. Ten human burial sites of *Burzahom* were found almost complete. The comparison of the crania showed that *Burzahom* is, on the whole, more close to *Harappan* Cemetery R37 series than other Neolithic series of India. On the basis of marked similarity in head breadth, horizontal circumference, sagittal transversal arc, orbital breadth, palatal breadth, length breadth index, Arbindu Basu and Anadipal, after a detailed data analysis, came to the conclusion, that comparison of metric traits reveals that the *Burzahom* people were more similar to *Harappan* Cemetery R37 than to Neolithic people of southern India. The similarity of a number of morphological characters traced between the *Burzahom* series and Neolithic culture and Cemetery R37 series of mature *Harappan* culture reflects 'their genetic affinity and probably also hints towards an ethnic continuity... "

What debarred a decisive conclusion over the issue despite the physical comparison, was that various other questions were raised introducing an element of doubt. There are features alluding to the living conditions which are more comparable to the conditions in the north and north-west of China. Such features are pit-dwellings and burial customs. But the differences in living conditions and other customs could be there due to the differences in climate. When a civilization is spread over vast area falling within the range of both tropical and cold climates, such differences are bound to be there. These differences cannot conclusively nullify the results achieved by physical verification.

Proponents of such arguments have been set on rethinking when near Jammu, at *Akhnoor*, an established Harappan settlement was excavated at *Manda*. The discovery was the consequence of a chance find of a rare coin of an Indo-Greek king

by Maj. General Jacob in 1973. He informed Archaeological Survey of India. Over this tip off Director General Archaeological Survey of India ordered a major operation in 1977 under his personal supervision. A three tier sequence of the *Harappan* culture was brought to light.

The arrival of *Harappans* at *Manda* is conspicuous due to the findings of typical pre-Harappan sturdy red-ware and fans with thick horizontal bands suggesting pre-defence sequence of other recognized excavated sites. The *Harappan* pottery dug out constituted beakers and goblets, dishes, dish on stands and jars. Other finds were terracotta items, bone-arrow heads, chert blades, pistles, querns and saddles. The most important find was the double spiral-headed copper pin with wide distribution. Even in Kashmir a copper pin was found in an excavation at a Neolithic site at *Gufkral* in the *Tral* area of *Pulwama* district. This is patently indicative of the fact that either there was contact between the two cultures or this area also formed a part of the *Harappan* culture.

However, the latest investigations have clinched the whole issue. Traditionally it was believed that the Kashmiris had come to live in Kashmir from the habitations which flourished on the banks of river *Saraswati* described in *Rigveda*, "as the mother of all rivers". But this belief was not lent any credence as the existence of this river was taken as a myth in absence of concrete evidence. But due to untiring efforts of geologists and the availability of modern technology for earth-scanning like multi-spectral scanner etc., they have been able to trace the course of the river *Saraswati* and its main tributary—*Sutlej*. Landsat imagery revealed that river had about 7 Kms. of average width when it passed through entire Punjab. The findings were further confirmed by a team of historians, geographers assisted by geologists who took up a study of about 150 important sites along its route down up to *Somnath* in Gujarat. That these sites were sustained by this great river and that a highly developed culture of the sort which the Indus Valley Civilization, excavated at *Mohan-jo-daro* in Sind and *Harappa* in the Punjab, depicted.

In a long time span, geological and geographical forces are bound to act and react bringing both quantitative and qualitative changes. These changes are caused by silting, deviation in the

courses of rivers, degrees of quantum of water flow and sometimes drying up of rivers caused by the change in the direction of tributaries supplying water or melting of glaciers. When the supply of water was no more available to the *Saraswati* from its tributaries especially due to the change in the direction of Sutlej, it lead to its complete drying up. The people living in the prosperous settlements on its banks were forced to disperse and find new pastures for their settlement. A chunk of these people moved towards north and settled in Kashmir. It is not therefore surprising if we find the skeletal remains of Burzahom excavations tallying with Cemetery R37 of *Harappa*—excavation belonging to the *Indus-Valley Civilization* which extended “westward upto the Iranian border eastwards beyond Delhi and southwards to the Gulf of Broach”.

Besides, very strong traces of *Tantrism* had been found in the material remains of the *Indus-Valley Civilization*. The *Tantra* has also been the ancient tradition of Kashmir which has been carried along by the people to this day. The distorted version of this *Tantra* is traceable in the *Vatak Puja* of Kashmiri Hindus. The use of such symbols, as were also found in the Indus-Valley excavations is prevalent in Kashmir even today.

The evidence thus available puts a question mark on the conclusion arrived at by Dr. George Grierson that a chunk of Indo-Aryans had entered Kashmir via *Dardistan* after crossing the Hindukush.

Cultural Glory of Ancient Kashmir

Motivation from Nature

What is unique about Kashmir is that it has been cast in nature's own design. "Nature itself when creating the great valley of Kashmir and enclosing wall of its mountains, seems to have assured to this territory not only a distinct geographical character but also a historical existence of marked individuality¹." The mountain ranges that enclose Kashmir valley have lent grandeur and beauty to it. Treasured with the deposits of sparkling snows, *Pir Panjal* Range that covers it from the South-West gives it a touch of sublimity. And the great range spreading from the North-West to the North continuing eastwards with the rise in level of summits, blesses the valley with the frequent glaciers of fair size. Out of these mountain ranges arise famous peaks touching skies and appear like sentinels guarding the beautiful valley from the curse of gods. The *Tatakkuti* in *Pir Panjal*, the diadem of *Shiva*, *Harmukta* in the great range and above all the proud *Nanga Parbat* in the South-Eastern direction to the *Nunkun* peaks in the *Suru* have ever stood, ever guarded despite the march of history.

The glaciers and other perennial deposits of snow have caused many lakes, springs, streams and rivulets which contribute to the main river, *Vitasta*, deriving its nomenclature from *Rig Veda*². While in the upper reaches there are famous glacial lakes like *Konsar Nag* (*Karamsarvas*), the *Panch Tarani* and the *Gangabal* (from the *Harmukta*), on the level ground itself, the *Dala*, the *Vular* (*Mahapadamasaras*) and the *Manasbal* adorn the valley. The *konsr Nag* is a perennial source of water to *Vesau* (*Visoka*), the *Panch*

Tarni feeds the *Liddar* and the *Gangabal* offers the traditional source to the *Sindh*. All these rivers join from the South, East and the North at different points to add to the *Vitasta* which itself emerges from a spring at *Verinag*.

The rushing rivulets and streams criss-cross every dale and vale presenting a pattern so pleasing to the eye. In their course running over boulders making waterfalls and rippling over pebbly beds, they rush in sort of rhythm making twists and turns amidst the green paddy fields and growing grooves of willows along their banks to form the *Vitasta*. Meandering its path through the plains of the valley, the *Vitasta* in a zigzag course, flows majestically making beautiful curves with its banks. From the *Shankracharya* (*Gopadiri*) top the curves of the river make an impressive scenario touching every sensitive mind.

With the graded slopes of towering mountains all around the fertile plain is embedded in nature's grand amphitheatre decorated with green belts of paddy fields interspersed with patches of saffron concentrations and orchards of apples, almond and cherries, etc. On the slopes grow the famous Walnut trees. The seasons change like the moods of *Cleopatra*. The Spring excites with the flowering peach, almond blossoms the narcissus, daffodils, daisies, the iris and above all the blood red tulips, the summer enters with the pleasant morning breeze showering cascades of scented flowers and fruits and lotuses tossing their heads over the shimmering waters of the *Dal*, the autumn is symbolized by the majestic *Chinar* with burnished leaves and variety of hues in perfect relief and winter thrills one with dancing flakes of snow and the trees, plants and houses presenting beautiful figures showing the broad contours under a thick cover of snow.

In the great irregular oval consisting of similarly shaped level valley in the centre called Kashmir live the great people, who could not but be influenced by the overwhelming environment, inspiring them to shape a culture rich in thought, aesthetics and art. Even Buddha was influenced by the pleasant climate and scenic beauty of Kashmir. He is believed to have said that Kashmir was the best place for the meditation³. Abhinav Gupta, the great son of the soil, did

not only contribute to the indigenous philosophy of Saivism but to the rich treasure of aesthetics. According to him to knead nature into a work of art is nearest approximation to the knowledge of godhead. The beautiful objects of nature motivated the ancient people of Kashmir to anthropomorphize them giving artistic expression to their views about the world and its Being. They thought that nature was the manifestation of an all pervading force that is Siva and worshipped it in different forms. Following the course of pantheism, Kashmiri sculptors created aesthetically rich and beautiful forms of gods and goddesses in stone and metals, representing various manifestations of that Supreme Being and built lofty temples to worship them.

Architects of Stone

One of the names, which the people of Kashmir were given, was the *Sastra-Silpa* meaning the architects of stone. For keeping his vow king *Samadhimat*, got a thousand *Lingas* prepared by carving a rock all round which were visible upto 12th century AD (*Kalhanas* time)⁴. Under *Pravarsena II Jayandra* got a colossal statue of Buddha cut and chiselled and erected by the artisans of that period⁵. The architect *Jaya* created the beautiful form of *Visnu*⁶. A big temple was built by king *Lalitaditya* at *Martanda*. The ruins of this wonder creation of the architects of those times still exists in the valley of Kashmir. The temple is famous for its grandeur and architectural skill. The queen of *Nand Gupta* (AD 972-73) got constructed a beautiful *Vishnu* temple.⁷ It was built of white stone and was known for masterly skill of its builders. So was *Awantiswamin* temple built by the great benevolent king of Kashmir. *Martanda* and *Awantiswamin's* temples are the testimony to the ability and the vitality of the *Karkuta* and *Utpala* periods respectively. "The periods of *Karkutas*, *Utpalas* and *Lohars* lasted from early eight century to eleventh century. This was a period of expansions and conquest beyond the territories of Kashmir when powerful cultural influences were attracted into the seat of power. Architects and sculptors sought their occupations in *Pravarapura* and *Parihaspura*, wherein they brought change into the

employment of basic raw materials. These craftsmen from East-Mediterranean cultures of Grecian and Asia Minor trends had already found their root amongst the *Gandharan* and Gupta movements of northern India. They knew that masterly use of stone as their traditional raw material. They brought in a radical change in the structural establishments of local architecture⁸." Mirza Haider Dughlat calls the temples built by the sculptors-cum-architects of Kashmir as the wonder of Kashmir. He says, "The blocks are three to twenty gaz in length, one gaz in depth and one to five gaz in breadth. The marvel is how these stones were transported and erected⁹."

Sculpture

The figure sculpture during the *Karkuta* period of ancient history was superb. It had been influenced by waves of art from both central Asia and Mathura. Though we find *Tang* Chinese models in the *Bodhistava* statues in a *stupa* of *Cankuna* at *Parihaspura* yet there is strong evidence to show a substantial influx of sculptors into Kashmir caused due to Lalitadityas Indian expeditions. They were trained in late Gupta tradition. Around the plinth of Central shrine at *Martand* temple and on other small temples by its sides, we find the reliefs of the late Gupta period art-style. These reliefs, to quote Goetz, "are very elegant, mannered, somewhat sensuous, fashionable, often even sophisticated. Their costume, on the other hand, generally goes back to *Gandhara* and *Sassanian* fashions, which then must still have prevailed in Kashmir¹⁰."

Kashmir artists, trained, no doubt by Gupta masters had worked out master pieces of sculptures on the entrance and internal walls of the great temples of those period.... "Also iconographically they are interesting; for they have preserved quite a number of types which otherwise are rare in India but which are well known to us from Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia and Champa as imports from India e.g. many 'Tantric' types, or *Vishnu* riding on *Guruda*, etc.¹¹"

Kashmirian sculptural art had reached heights under the '*Utpalas*'. It was a synthesis between the *Gandhara* and Gupta schools of art with addition of elegance in details made by local

artists of Kashmir. They had achieved a balance between proportions in body and look. Popular motif of a sculpture of those times was the four-headed *Vishnu* elegantly decorated with heavy ornaments, a jewelled girdle at the waist and a dagger attached to it. The powerful frame of the body exhibits vigour and discipline and the emotional expression of the face is in sharp contrast to the passionless, calm features of Buddha and *Bodhisatvas* of the early sculptures found in *Pandrenthan* and *Parihaspura*. Other sculptures also exhibit the same depth, vigour and emotion. These sculptures, for instance present the motifs like *Kamdeva* and *Rati*, Krishna with his *Gopis* and *Ganesha* and *Lakshmi*. We have some specimen of Kashmerian sculptural art in temples of *Babor* and *Kirmchi* in Jammu also.

But unfortunately the period which followed '*Utpals*', Kashmir got involved in internecine warfare perpetuated by land grabbing class of *Damars*. They did not spare any of the kings without dragging them into civil war. Art and culture had to suffer very badly. The stone-building art and iconography had to be abandoned and instead wood was used for constructing temples and houses. Wooden block houses extant in Kashmir, can be seen in typical Kashmiri mosques.

The Shawl

The impact of nature in Kashmir was so much over-bearing that it moulded the human material into a refined and noble people. So wrote Young Husband, "Amid the glorious mountains, breathing their free and bracing air, and brightened by constant sunshine, there must have sprung a strong and virile and yet aesthetic race? The beautiful Greece with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky, produced the graceful Greece. But Kashmir is more beautiful than Greece. It has the same blue sky and brilliant sunshine, but its purple hills are on a far grander scale, and it has no sea, it has lake and river and still more impressive snowy mountains. It has, too, greater variety of natural scenery of field and forest, of rugged mountain and open valley. And to me who have seen both the countries, Kashmir seems much the more likely to impress a race by its natural beauty. Has it made ever such impression?

The shawls for which the country is noted are some indication that its inhabitants have a sense of form and colour some delicacy and refinement. But great people would have produced something more than shawls..... (and they have in the shape great temples, architecture, lofty pediments and foiled arches.¹²)”

The place of huge temples and the works produced by the Kashmir's *Saster-Silpa* apart, the impressive history made by *Pashmina Shawl* is not in any way less important. Way back in the 18th century B.C. when Egypt was invaded by Hyksos, who exiled the Pharaohs, and when it had not as yet come into contact with Europe, commercial activity in Egypt was carried on entirely by means of caravans. “From Arabia Felix came a long train of camels laden with gems of that aromatic land, and with more precious produce of countries far beyond with pearls of Persian Gulf and carpets of Babylon, the pepper and ginger of Malabar, the *shawls* of Kashmir.¹³”

But the ancient most culture in Kashmir so far, has been dug out at *Burzahom* Srinagar. Carbon 14 dating tests show that the *Burzahom* culture existed between 3492 and 4325 years ago and the period 1800 B.C. could fall nearer this range of time and an article like a Kashmir *Shawl* could not have been a part of this culture. At the same time the *Burzahom* remains do not throw light on the whole range of articles of common use required by the common man living there, least of all his clothing. Being cold area, it could be possible that he wore some woollens made by his hands. Subsequent historical evidence, though at a later date, shows that Kashmir *shawl* was exported many centuries before Christ. It had been a tradition with Persian kings to decorate their pavilion in the battle fields with Kashmir *shawls*. Before 300 B.C. when Darius III headed his army in the battlefield, “....a little after day break, a trumpet sounded, and the image of the sun, cased in crystal and made of burnished gold, was raised on the top of the King's Pavilion, which was built of wood, covered with Cashmere *shawls* and supported on silver poles.¹⁴”

Nilmat Purana provides us with list of names of clothings which were used then. Among these, there is one named *Kambla*.¹⁵

Kambla is the other name of *Pravarna*, a woollen blanket. *Pravarna* is the same thing as *Pravara* mentioned in *Mahabharata* being used for getting protection from cold.¹⁶ *Nilmata Purana*, therefore, establishes a link between the *Kambla*, *paravarna* of that period and *Pravara* of *Mahabharata's* time. Even Will Durant in his *Oriental Heritage* refers to the ancient glory of Kashmir's textile craft.

"..... directly at the northern tip of India is the province of Kashmir of whose very name recalls the ancient glory of Indian textile craft.¹⁷" The excavation at *Harwan* unfolding Buddhist ruins belonging to 4th century A.D., shows an advanced stage of development. The motifs on terracotta tiles found show women wearing transparent robes with delicate and sheen scarves and horse man flying with scarves attached to his uniform.¹⁸ Even *Heun Tsang* who visited Kashmir in A.D. 631 saw people using *Ho-la-li* (*Karala*). *Karala* is nothing but *Pashmina*. Even Pamathanath Banerji in his study of economics quotes Martins Indian Empire: "gossamer muslins of Dacca, the beautiful *shawls* of Kashmir adorned the proudest beauties at the courts of Caesars when the barbarians of Britain were painted savages.¹⁹"

Philosophy and Thought

Kashmir's enviable geographical position supplemented by its excellent natural environment assigned it the proud position of a laboratory in which various currents and cross currents of thought were minutely dissected. With the expansion of Anoka's empire to Kashmir, the onslaught of Buddhism could not completely uproot the local Bhramanical thought. It lingered on. With the change of times, the followers of Brahmanism regained power and attempted to establish erstwhile religious order. What ensued was a period of clash between two religious philosophies—Hinduism and Buddhism. Kashmir was those days a land of great thinkers, saints and savants. "Exercising their faculty of creative thought, evolved a new philosophy of life: this is *Trika*, a synthesis of fundamental doctrines of all the Indian philosophies plus the knowledge gained by the Kashmiri thinkers through their own contemplations, observations and experiences.²⁰"

Buddhism too received the imprint of *Saivism* and it modified into *Mahayana* type of Buddhism which was thereafter called northern Buddhism. Kanishika called one more Buddhist council on the lines, Asoka had called at *Patliputra*. This was called at the *Kundalvan* Monastery near Srinagar. Celebrated scholars like *Asvogosh*, *Vasumitra* and *Nagarjuna* among other scores of thinkers participated in the council. About the scholars from Kashmir *Heun Tsang* remarked:

"The country from remote times was distinguished for learning and these priests were all of high religious merit and conspicuous virtues, as well as of manner, talent and power of exposition of doctrine; and though the priests of other nations were in their own way distinguished yet they could not be compared with these—so different were they from the ordinary class.²¹"

This council gave *Mahayanist Doctrine* an official status. The Doctrine was dissected and developed in Kashmir in which scholars of Kashmir played a prominent role. Kanishika's Council generated so much enthusiasm, that Kashmiri monks and missionaries dared the trek across Himalayas and spread the message of great Buddha at the cost of their lives. Even *Kumar Jiva* referred to in china as 'One of the four Suns of Buddhism' received education in Buddhist thought and tradition at the hands of Kashmiri scholars. It was he who, along with Kashmiri Pandit scholars made *Kucha* a seat of learning in Central Asia. Guna Verman was one Kashmiri Pandit scholar who converted whole of Java and all its islands to Buddhist faith²². Kashmiri scholars were not only instrumental in defusing Buddhism to Tibet, China and other places in South East Asia but enriched it in its content and form. Kashmir those days had become so much a seat of learning that it attracted chain of scholar pilgrims from distant lands. *Huen Tsang*, *Che-mong*, *Fa-yong* and *Ou Kong* all visited Kashmir to study Sanskrit and Buddhist philosophy.

The philosophical thought which Kashmiri Pandit Scholars propounded and advocated was ever-evolving and growing. When at the end of Eighth Century Buddhism lost its glory and the new thought "*Adviata*" of *Shankara Charya* made an impact, Kashmiri scholars gave monastic interpretation to *Saivism* and this was done

by Abhinav Gupta. In the Eleventh century A.D. Ramanuja had to travel all the way from Madras to fight *Saivism* in its home land.

Literary Tradition

Kashmir had been a hub of Sanskrit learning and literature during ancient times. Scholars from all parts of India, Tibet and China travelled to Kashmir to study Sanskrit and Kashmiri educators, savants and scholars gave them valued guidance. Grierson was unreserved and spontaneous when he made a statement that, "For upward of two thousand years, Kashmir has been the home of Sanskrit learning and from this small valley have issued master pieces of history, poetry romance, fable and philosophy. Kashmires are proud of the literary glories of their land.some of the greatest Sanskrit poets were born and wrote in the valley, and from it has issued in the Sanskrit language a world famous collection of folklore."²³

Sanskrit language had assumed a very high place when during Ashoka's time Buddhism travelled to the beautiful valley. All Buddhist texts and literature were written in Sanskrit; the new religion having transformed in its content and form. What is worthy of noting is that all the Buddhist literature in other parts of India was written in pali. So when Kashmiri scholars carried Buddhism to central Asia and China, it was in Sanskrit language.

Repositories of all Sanskrit manuscripts and other literature were the temples and *Viharas* of Kashmir valley. These were preserved having been scribbled on birch-bark (*Bhoj patra*), which does not get spoiled by dampness. Many traditionally literary families also preserved such manuscripts. When in 1875 George Buhler came to Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts, he found more than twenty-two Sanskrit speaking Pandits, traders and officials who were 'possessors of most considerable collections of manuscripts.'²⁴

Kashmirians having developed interest in Sanskrit language could not help in contributing to its grammar. Panini who is traced by Kashmiri tradition having been born south of Kashmir (at village *Godra*) in Second Century B.C.²⁵, produced his monumental work,

Astadhyayi on Sanskrit grammar—*Mahabhasya*. A school of Sanskrit grammar, called *Candra* was founded when *Cendracharya* produced his work, *Candra-Vyakarna*, a reputed work on Sanskrit grammar. Similarly *Kshiraswamin* wrote a well-known treatise on the study of verbs—*Dhatupatha*. It is highly valued commentary on verbs in Sanskrit language.

Kashmiri literary giants contributed to Sanskrit prosody and metrics profusely. *Pinglacharya* authored a work on metric *Pingla*, *Kedera Bhatta Vritcaratnakara*, well known Kashmiri author *Ksmendra*, *Suvritta-tilaka* and *Mamatta Savdavyaparacaca*. Kashmiran authors propounded the theory of *Dhvni* and this was contributed to the science of poetics. They did not only develop some of the earlier schools of poetics like *Rasa*, *Alankara*, *Riti*, *Vakroti* and *Aucaty*, but made their own contribution to poetics. According to Kane, "the *Daavanyaloka* is an epoch making work in the history of *Alankara* literature. It occupies the same position in the poetics as Panani's *Astadhyayi* in the grammar and Shankaracarya's commentary on *Vedanta*." *Dhavanyaloka* was the monumental work of *Anandavardhana* (860-890 A.D).

In the history of Indian aesthetics, *Abhinavgupta* reared and brought up in the lap of nature in the valley of Kashmir, shined like a polar star among the galaxy of many other aesthetes of the Indian subcontinent. He was the man who made a study of all the schools of poetics which lead to his creation *Abhinavabharti*. It deals primarily with the *Rasa* theory and the other questions connected with it. He even produced a commentary on *Dhavanyaloka* of *Anand Vardhana* in his work *Loacna*. *Shanta Rasa* had been exclusively his contribution. He says, "all emotions, when their exciting conditions are present, emerge from *Shanta* and when these conditions are withdrawn they again merge into *Shanta*." A lot has been contributed by his disciple, *Mamattacharya* to poetics. His famous work *Kavyaprakasa* has been commented upon by well known scholars. He follows the theory of *Dhavani* meticulously and differs strongly with other schools of poetics. Numerous Kashmirian scholars have contributed to Sanskrit poetics by producing works of great importance.

Ancient history of Kashmir is replete with the names of great Sanskrit scholars, poets dramatists who can compete with all the doyens of literature all over the world in their respective fields. For instance *Kshemendra* introduced social satire mixed with humour and sarcasm in his works with great literary skill. His *Samayamatrika* is an interesting specimen of *satire* which the author has used in a poem of eight chapters narrating 'the story of the wanderings of a courtesan in the valley.' It is a specimen of satire on various classes of people like women beggars, shopgirls, strolling musicians, saints and thieves alike. Like wise his *Narmamala* is a satire on the oppression perpetrated by the nipping *Kayathas* of his time. *Kalavilasa*, in a similar fashion depicts idiocencracies and weaknesses of various professionalists like traders, goldsmiths, physicians, astrologers, and harlots. In *Desopadessa* he rips naked the weaknesses of the society of those times by creating characters out of depraved sections of the community like, prostitutes, cheats, misers, degraded saivagurus and young girls married to old people.

Another literary giant *Bilhana*, a poet, who belonged to 'Khonmusa', a village near Srinagar had left Kashmir during King Kailasas time (1063-89 A.D).

His prominent works are:

- (i) *Vikramankadevacarita*
- (ii) *Karna Sundary*
- (iii) *Caurasurata Panchasika*.

In *Vikramankadevacarita*, Bilhana, immortalises king Vikramaditya Tribhuvanamalla, a *Chalukya* King. This poem of Bilhana, is first of its kind in Sanskrit in which a historical approach has been adapted. *Karnasundary* is a romantic tale and is a poem noted for lyrical melody and emotional richness.

Kashmir has a tradition of story-telling from very early times. Some of the best known tales have emanated from Kashmir. Though lost, Gonanda's legendary *Brihat-Katha* was a well known work in this field. No less significant is Somananda's *Kathasarita Sagar* which in fact, is a version of lost work of Gonandhya. It also carries many tales of *Pancatantra*. This work is the largest collection of stories in the world. "The number of stanzas alone, not counting

the prose passages, is more than 22,000; it is twice as big as *Illiad* and the *Odyssey* put together²⁶". Even Kshemendra has contributed to this field in the shape of *Brihat Kathamanjri*. It is a rich and entertaining collection of fables. Kashmiri Scholars of ancient times have produced highly valued recensions of some of the great classics of our country like the *Mahabharata*, *Bagvadgita* or Kalidasa's *Shankuntala*. These recensions were so much of special attention, that these were in demand at the courts of enlightened princes, in Sanskrit universities and at the conferences and conclaves of thinkers and scholars in other parts of our country. Earliest most commentary on *Gita-Vasvi-tika* was written by the founder of *Saivism* in Kashmir-Vasugupta. Though it has been lost yet its first six chapters (as is believed) find their place in another '*tika*' on *Bhagwadgita*, *Lasaki* by Raganka Lasakaka. There are many more Sanskrit scholars like Anandvardhana, Ramakantha, Bhaskara and even Abinava Gupta. These Sanskrit commentaries on *Bhagwadgita* refer to a text of *Gita* which differs with the version of other non-Kashmiri authors including one adapted by Shankaracharya. This controversy in the words of Kunhan Raja, "has assumed in the region of indological studies an importance too big in dimension to be ignored by any serious student....."²⁷

Similarly Kashmirian recension of *Mahabharata*, which was discovered by Buhler, generated a controversy. Late Dr. Sukthankar who made a full use of this version of *Mahabharata* recommended to the indologists the importance of this recension in the Feb. 1921, issue of the *Vividhajnana-Visara* (Bombay) for determining credible version of the *Mahabharata*.

Kashmirian recension of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* also raised the controversy about the true version of the great drama. Kashmiri version did not tally with either Bengali or Devanagri version of *Sakuntala*, "Pischal, however, gave his final verdict on the controversy in the Harvard Oriental Series, in which, he assesses the value of the kashmiri recension."

Kashmirian Scholars did not write commentaries on classics only but also other Sanskrit works. For instance Ranakantha wrote a commentary on the '*Kavya*', *Yudhisthiravijaya*, of Vasudev Bhattatiri of distant Kerala state. This shows how Kashmirian

scholars made an extensive study of the works on various subjects written by the authors from other parts of the country.

Besides the contribution made to philosophy and Sanskrit literature, there was no branch of knowledge to which ancient Kashmir had not added its valuable bit. When George Buhler toured Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in 1875, he was wonder-struck to find a large number of works on *Vedas*, *Puranas*, poetry, plays, fables, poetics, grammar, law and polity. He found works done on *Samkhya*, *Vedanta*, *Nyaya*, *Purva Mimansa*, Astronomy and Astrology. He records, "that I do not pretend to give all that is valuable in them. I had no time to read several million shlokas and to compare them with the verses from the Indian books. A thorough study of such collection would take up the whole time of a student during several years and I even doubt if any man can sufficiently become master of all the various *Sastras* represented, in order to estimate the books at their proper value."²¹

Economic Development and Culture

Kashmir had earned the name and fame because of her learned scholars at important assemblies of thinkers and writers of the Sanskrit universities in rest of the country. It had become the cherished dream of every student of philosophy and Sanskrit language and literature to go to Kashmir to drink deep at the fountain of knowledge and wisdom that gushed forth from the 'land of Sarada, the Goddess of learning.

Cultural development and the economic prosperity of a country go hand in hand. One cannot sustain without the help of the other. Lalitaditya's conquests brought lot of wealth to his country which led to tremendous developmental activities like building of temples and other architectural feats. So did happen with the conquering seprees of Sultan Shihab-Ud-Din during Medieval times. From the very first century of Christian Era, Kashmir had already entered the period of developed commercial activities. She had then brisk trade relations with central Asia²² and also traded with the plains of India down below. The bulk of people were engaged in the trade rather than agriculture²³. The trade expanded enormously, so much so that the old Uttara Patha trade was

expanded to Central Asia²⁴. Woollen and silken textiles and jewellery besides saffron were the articles of trade from Kashmir. The handicrafts formed the major chunk of this trade.

There had come into existence, within Indian socio-economic system, the *Janapada* and *Paura*²⁵, one representing agrarian centres and the other rich handicraft guilds. In Kashmir although the division was, generally on same lines, yet there is no evidence of any handicraft guilds existing in Kashmir. There is, however, ample evidence to show that there existed elaborate shopping complexes. Shops used to be decorated on the night of *Kartika Amavasya*²⁶. Artisans and craftsmen were held in great esteem in society. They were given important role in the yearly coronation rites of Kings²⁷.

By the end of Kashmiri's ancient history, a variety of crafts had made appearance. Mention is made in Kesmendera's *Narmamala* and Kalhan's *Rajtarangini*. *Rajtarangini* gives the description of prosperous markets during King Nara's time. He says, "On the sandy bank of *Vitasta*, he built a town where the markets were kept full of supply by the highroads and where coming and going of ships (boats) gave splendour to the river²⁸." Kamalavati, the queen of the great King, Latitaditya, also established *Kamalahatta*²⁹ (meaning the market of Kamala). The premier market centres of those times were *Purandhisthana* and *Prathihaspura*³⁰. Market buildings were given as gifts by kings. Even the respectable *Purohita*s of temples were granted this favour³¹. Grant of shops to individuals and shrines is often mentioned in inscriptions³².

Repeated references in our chronicles have been made to *Dinara Hundika*³³ (bond of debt for cash) and *Danyhojjama crica*³⁴ (bond of debt for *Dhanya* or *shali*), *Dinarahundika*³⁵ (*Hundi* for cash) and *Dhanya Hundika*³⁶ (*Hundi* for *Dhanya*) show that Kashmir had well developed money market. A system of reckoning and even a system of coinage existed. A monetary system based on the *cowree* unit and represented in its main bulk by copper coinage becomes for more intelligent if we realize that it was supplemented in all important transactions of public business and private life by ample stores of another circulating medium of the *Khari* of rice³⁷.

The presence of currency system is further substantiated by references made to the prices of commodities and the examples of exact amounts fixed as salaries for the officials. The system of *Hundies* shows that the money was given on credit on interest.

The presence of markets, shopping complexes, business centres, a monetary system, method reckoning, the bills of exchange (*Hundies*), the bonds of contract and the indigenous banking system provided suitable condition for the economic growth associated with cultural development in the ancient period of Kashmir's history.

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The Shawl—A Gift of Kashmir's Cultural Heritage

Antiquity

In Kashmir, of late; it is being assumed that the shawl, a gift of Kashmir's ancient cultural glory was introduced by *Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani* on his second visit to Kashmir in 1378 AD. Of course, there can be no denying the fact that he encouraged Sultan Qutub-din (1373-1378 AD) for its production. Surrounded by many a myth and legend, the story of *Shawl* is very long and ancient one. It reads like a romance; a fairy tale; an anonymous ballad sung to the children of Kashmir. As back as Eighteenth Century BC when Hyksos invaded Egypt, who exiled the *Pharaos* and when it had not yet come into contact with Europe, commercial activity in Egypt was carried on entirely by means of *Caravans*. "From Arabia Flix came a long train of camels laden with gems of that aromatic land, and with more precious produce of countries far beyond with pearls of Persian Gulf and the carpets of Babylon, the peper and ginger of Malabar, the *Shawls* of Kashmir".¹ Also it had been the tradition with Persian kings to decorate their pavilion in the battlefields with Kashmir *Shawl* as back as 300 BC. The pavilion of Darius-III in the battlefield was covered by Kashmir *Shawls* supported by silver poles.²

But what makes the antiquity of the *Shawl* doubtful is that the carbon-14 dating tests of Kashmir's earliest excavation at *Burzahom* reveals a culture between 3492 and 4325 years, which though falls within the range of 1800 BC does not show a stage of

development which could form an article like *Kashmir Shawl* as its part. At the same time *Burzahom* remains do not throw light on the whole range of articles of common use required for man living then, least of all his clothing. Being cold area, it could be possible that he wore some woollens made by his hands. May be it was the crude texture, but being very soft and warm due to superior quality of wool available in this part of the world, it was in great demand with members of royal families. We have subsequent evidence, which shows that fine textiles were being produced in Kashmir. The excavation at *Harwan* unfolding Buddhist ruins belonging to Fourth Century AD shows an advanced stage of development. The motifs on terracotta tiles show women wearing transparent robes, with delicate and sheen scarves and a horseman flying with scarves attached to his uniform.³ Even Will Durant in his *Oriental Heritage* refers to the ancient glory of Kashmir's textile craft. "———Directly at the northern tip of India is a province of Kashmir of whose very name recalls the ancient glory of India's textile craft".⁴ Babylonia produced wool as early as 400 BC⁵ and women of Western Asia spun threads of wool by twirling a handheld spindle and wove it on horizontal loom.⁶ West Asia was passing through the *Neolithic Age* at that time. It would not, therefore, be something unusual if the life of *Kashmir Shawl* were established about 1800 BC.

In our country the *Shawl* is associated with the *Ramayana*. It is said to have been given in dowry to *Sita* by her father *Janaka*.⁷ The gifts supplied to Northern India by *Haimsvates* of *Sabhparvas* of *Mahabhart*, which included Kashmiris also, included, among other things, smooth non-cotton textile pieces and woollen blankets⁸. "Tradition has it that when Krishna went to the *Kurus* as a delegate from *Pandavas*, the present of Dhritrashtra to him included ten thousand *Shawls* of Kashmir".⁹ Also it is believed that people of Kambojha brought clothes and skins as presents for Yudhishtira. Some of them were made of wool and embroidered with gold thread. The description matches with *Shawls* of Kashmir.¹⁰

Heun Tsang visited Kashmir in 631 AD. He mentions about the nature of cloths used by the people of Kashmir. These were

cotton, silk and *Pashmina*. According to him the garments were of *Kaiu-she-Ye* (Kansheya) and of cotton. *Kaiu-She-Ye* is the product of wild silkworm. They wore the garments of *Tso-mo* (*Khaumo*) sort of hem, *Kien-po-lo* (*Kambla*) woven from fine goat hair, *Holla-li* (Karala), the stuff made of fine hair of wild animals and is seldom woven. *Karala* is nothing but *Pashmina*.¹¹ Heun Tsang has seen clothes of cotton silk and *Pashmina* used by Kashmiris.

Nilmata Purana also provides us with a list of names of clothing's, which were used then. Among them there is one named as *Kambla*.¹² *Kambla* is other name of *pravarna*, a woollen blanket. There is a mention of *pravarna* (*Kambla*) in connection with the festival of first snowfall in *Nilmata Purana*.¹³ *Pravarna* is the same thing as *Pravara* mentioned in *Mahabhart*a being used for getting protection from cold.¹⁴ *Nilmata Purana* therefore establishes a link between the *Kambla* and *Pravarna* of that period and *Pravara* of *Mahabhart*a's time. *Nilmata Purana* also while describing a practice to be followed on a certain festival says that on that day *Linga* should be given a bath after removing its woollen covering.¹⁵ The woollen covering wrapped around the *Linga*, a symbol of Lord *Shiva*, could not but be a fine and soft piece of woollen texture available during those times. This delicate woollen cloth, used with great reverence for the Lord could be a piece of *Pashmina* cloth. Even *Bilhana* in his historical poem *Vikramankadeva Carita*, while describing the beauty of Kashmir mentions how the ladies after taking bath at river used the delicate stuff of soft woollen shawls.¹⁶

After having gone into oblivion between eighth and twelfth centuries the *shawl* was resurrected in a big way by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. Earlier Mohammad Tuglak had sent Kashmir shawls as presents to Chinese Emperor.¹⁷ Though woollens could not be expected to go out of production in Kashmir because of its severe winters but the type of wool required to produce the delicate stuff might have become difficult to procure. The closing of routes as a matter of deliberate policy after the disturbed conditions, which followed Karkuta Rule in Kashmir, must have contributed to the loss of both foreign markets and the sources of raw material. The

kings, involved in civil wars, might not have taken note of this serious lapse.

To one man and the only one, king Zain-ul-Abidin, goes the credit of reviving this traditional industry in a big way. Writing about the *shawl* under this Sultan, Shrivara, the court chronicler says, "the woollen fabrics called the *Soha* (*Shawl*) and others manufactured in foreign countries and those made in Kashmir today are both beautiful, but the latter are strong and fit for a king".¹⁸ The shawls were not only produced for local consumption but also for export. These were an important item of Kashmir's trade with Indian sub-continent. Its large production necessitated their stocking and storing in huge quantities. There is an important reference available which mentions the name of one Malik Lodni Lond who was imprisoned for having stolen 40,000 loads of *shawls* from the State Stores.¹⁹

Flourishing condition of the *shawl* industry was once again in for a serious setback due to the fratricidal wars fought among the sons and grandsons of Zain-ul-Abidin and various clans of Muslim nobility. It was left to the responsibility of an alien, Mirza Haider Dughlat to restore the *shawl* to its glory. He introduced new patterns, which made it popular.

The delicate *shawl* was given the name of *Param Narm* by Akbar. Abul Fazl the court historian of Akbar writes: "His Majesty encourages in every possible way the manufacture of *shawls* in Kashmir".²⁰ He further informs that the emperor invited master craftsmen from Kashmir to his court for producing *shawls*. He employed them in imperial workshops. Keen interest was taken by him to improve the quality and texture of the fabric. This great emperor introduced the custom of wearing two *shawls* one under the other. It gave a good look and became a craze with Mughal nobility. The fashion increased the demand for Kashmiri *shawls*. Besides, Mughal emperors wore on their turbans an almond shaped jewelled ornament called *Jigha*. A weaver from Andijan imitated the design in a scarf made for Emperor Babar and was so successful that it became a fashion cherished by one and all. Its popularity spread beyond our country and was adopted in art centres of Persia.

This lent a tremendous boost to the *shawl* industry. There were about 2000 *shawl* factories during the time of Akbar.²¹ The number of looms was about 40,000.²² The price of *shawl* ranged between Rs. 2 to Rs. 1200.²³

Sebastian, a reputed monk, travelled to India and visited Shah Jehan's Court. He was highly impressed by Kashmir *Shawls*. He described these as Choice Cloths.²⁴ Mughal Emperor Mohammad Shah was so much excited to receive a Kashmir *Shawl* with floral designs that he ordered forty thousand rupees worth of *Shawls* for him to be supplied every year.²⁵ Even Nadir Shah's ambassador in Constantinople in 1793, took among the fifteen elephant loads of precious presents, a number of Kashmiri shawls, which the Sultan gifted to the wives of ambassadors of his court.²⁶

During the time of one Afghan Governor, Azad Khan, a master craftsman, Ali Baba, getting inspired by the marks of the dusty claws of a fowl on a piece of white cloth devised a coloured design of embroidery for a *shawl*. Similarly it was by sheer accident that the *Shawl* came to be introduced in Europe. It so happened that in 1796 AD, a blind man Sayyid Yashaya came to Kashmir from Baghdad. When he left Kashmir, the Governor gave him an orange coloured *shawl* as a parting gift. He carried it to Egypt and presented it to Khedive who in turn presented it to Napoleon. Napoleon gifted it to his beloved Josephine. In a full length portrait painting dated 1809 AD, Josephine is shown wearing a dress made out of a long white Kashmiri *Shawl*.²⁷ She owned two hundred such *shawls*.²⁸ At times, in the evenings when she sat with Napoleon in front of the drawing room fire, she wrapped herself with precious Kashmir *Shawl*. The emperor would not like the *shawl* to come between his eyes and her bare broad bosom. He would snatch and throw it into the fire. Then Josephine clapped her hands and her maid would present yet another *shawl*. Again it would be thrown into fire and the game would thus continue. Her fancy for Kashmiri *shawls* led to a craze among the French and other European ladies to possess the much-covered *shawl* at any cost.

The patronage, which the *shawl* received from Empress Josephine, gave it a tremendous boost. To possess a *shawl* became a woman's dream. This magic gift from Kashmir appeared in dozens

of pictures of women over that period from *Ingress's Grand Society* portraits to humble advertising posters.²⁹ A little earlier writing a letter to his lady love, Eliza in 1769 AD, the English Novelist Laurence Sterne wrote, "I kiss your picture, your *shawl* and every trinket, I exchanged with you—, I dreamt—that thou comest into the room, with a *shawl* in hand — you folded *shawl* about my waist, and kneeling, supplicated my attention".³⁰ The *shawl* fever gripped European ladies so much "that well established fashion, Silhouette got replaced and the years up to 1879 came to be known as the *shawl* period".³¹

Unfortunately the wave of popularity of the *shawl* was followed by a tornado of jealousy in European business circles. They could not put up with the heavy demand for the *shawl* and the high price it fetched. They devised its imitation at Lynes (France) and Paisley (England). With the help of Jacquard Contraption technology, they produced excellent imitations from Australian and Persian wool. Kashmir pine was adopted as the motif for design. These imitations of Kashmir *Shawl* gave a tremendous setback to Kashmir *Shawl* Industry, though for a brief period. There existed no intellectual property rights or the law of patents then. British and French colonialists ruled over the world.

Raw Material-Spinning and Weaving

Among many other factors, which made Kashmir *shawl* famous, is the raw material used for the delicate stuff. Deep in the Himalayas, beyond the higher reaches of Western Tibet and Central Asia dwell the *Caprahicus*, a version of the *shawl* goat. During winter months they grow flossy short under-wool over their underbelly, below the layers of normal long course wool. This under-fleece protects them from the severe cold. Such flossy and short under-wool is called *Keli-Plumb*. Horizontally, this type of wool is of two types. One is of domestic goat and the other of the wild goat. The wool yielded by the domestic goat is called *Pashm* and that of the wild goat *Asli Tus*.³² During springtime, the wild goat tries to free itself of the extra layer of insulation by rubbing against the bushes and rocks. The local people collect this wool for sale. The goat is

generally of two colours. If it bears the white colour the *Pashm* is white. If it is black, the *Pashm* is black. If it is of light colour, it is called *Khudrang*. The variety of wool changes from area to area. The finest wool comes from *Chanthang* and *Turfan*. "The *Pashm* of *Turfan* is from goats in the *Tienshan* Mountains and the principle marts of collection are *Turfan* and *Uch-Turfan*".³³ It was transported via the Kashgar-Yarand-Leh Caravan route. Traditionally the wool imported by Kashmir used to come from Western Provinces of Lhasa and Ladakh. Later it came also from areas nearer Yarkand and Khoten. According to Moorcroft the import of *Shawl* wool by Kashmir was regulated by ancient custom and engagements.³⁴ But it became a binding on Ladakh authorities to export *shawl* wool to Kashmir after the conclusion of the Tibetan-Ladakh Mughal war in 1681-83 AD. During the time of Moorcroft, the import within Kashmir "fluctuated from 500 horse loads to 1000 horse loads".³⁵ The whole quantity of *Asli Tus* did not exceed 1200 lbs.³⁶ The *shawl* wool was collected by *Arguns*³⁷ from Tibet and Ladakh and by Mongol merchants near Yarkand and Khoten and families of Kirghiz horde.³⁸

After the raw material (*Pashm*) is received, it is handled by nineteen specialists.³⁹ The wholesaler—*Baqal-i-Tibet*, would sell it to the retailer—*Pashm Farosh* who in turn would sell it to spinners. The spinners were the women of Kashmir⁴⁰ who did the job traditionally from ancient times. They sat and sung songs with the buzzing of the wheel, sometimes late in the moonlit night. They would sing in praise of the wheel and the myth and tradition of Kashmir. The girl would begin spinning at the age of ten.⁴¹ A hundred thousand families were occupied in the trade according to Moorcroft.

After purchasing the yarn from the spinners the *Tar Farosh*—the yarn seller, sold it to the weavers—*Shawl-bafs*. The weaver after settling the design with the investor got the yarn divided into skeins by an expert and then sends it to the *Rangrez*—the dyer. The next specialist in the line would be the warp-maker—the *Nakatoo*. After passing through many other minor processes, the warp was laid on the loom.

After weaving the *shawl* would be sent for washing. Washing

was to be done in cold water. The best water for washing "is found in the canal between the lake and the flood gates of *Drugjen*—it communicates to the *shawl* a softness which cannot be given to those manufactures at any place in the plains of Hindustan".⁴² Soap was to be used sparingly on those parts, which were without embroidery.

Structurally *Shawls* have two types:

1. Kani-Shawl,
2. Amlikar Shawl.

Kani Shawl is traditional one and is woven along with its design on the loom itself. It uses the method by which small fragments of woven *shawl* are sewn together so neatly that the joints cannot be detected. This is done by darners. These *shawls* are very much expensive. They involve lot of labour and time. Such *shawls* required the services of many specialists, like *Naqash* (Designer), *Tarahguru* (Colour Caller), and *Talimgaru* (Pattern Master). It requires an intelligent weaver to translate the design into reality.

Amlikar Shawl, on the other hand is a piece of *Pashmina* of standard length and breadth over which beautiful designs of embroidery are worked out in fascinating colours. The outline of the design is translated by a set procedure. This type of *shawl* an innovation made by Ali Baba who got inspired by the footprints of a fowl on a white sheet of cloth. Ali Baba was then able to produce this type of *shawl* at one-third cost of the *Kani Shawl*.

Designs

The inspiration to the artisans of Kashmir for designs has not only come from the flora and fauna but also from the curves and ripples of the rivers and lakes. Beautiful flowers apart, Kashmir is full of colourful and fascinating birds, "—the kingfishers, pride of Kashmir, flashing turquoise and emerald as they dart among the reeds, the green parrot who is a summer visitor as are the hoopoe and brilliant golden oriole".⁴³ Many designs in Kashmir's embroidery work show curvatures and zigzag patterns. "Nature has inspired geometric designs too; tendrils and vines have been looped and curled and twisted into

myriad graceful arabesques, flowers and leaves have been messed together to make abstract, dappled backgrounds and even water ripples have been tamed into regularity".⁴⁴ Some of rare *shawls* in the Prince of Wales collections were found with interesting designs. One depicted the map of Srinagar with streets and houses, gardens and temples along with people walking around and the boats on the deep blue river. The other one, sober coloured with embroidery design showing, "conventional Persian and Cashmere wilderness of flowers with birds of loveliest plunge, singing in bloom and wonderful animals, stalking round and wandering men". *Shawls* would also depict romances of Indo-Persian literature.⁴⁵ Also battle scenes along with Persian Couplets were designed.⁴⁶ Maharaja Ranjit Singh got prepared a *shawl* depicting scenes of Sikh battles and their victories over their Afghan rivals.⁴⁷

Growth

Shawl production during the nineteenth century developed the features of capitalistic production. Earlier, it was the master craftsman who invested money and organised production under his own guidance. But, then, the persons traditionally belonging to family connected with *shawl* trade and not necessarily master craftsmen, organised *shawl* production by investing money and employing master craftsmen on wages. The production was organised in, what are called, *Karkhanas* (Factories). The *Karkhandar* (the owner) employed 300 to 400 weavers.⁴⁸ It led to the growth of the industry. The number of operational looms and the workers employed increased substantially.

S. No.	Year	No. of Looms Operational	No. of Workers Working
1.	1800	18,000	54,000
2.	1809	16,000	48,000
3.	1813	24,000	72,000

The value of trade from Kashmir to British India in 1908 was Rs. 1,41,757 and *shawls* accounted 91 per cent of it.⁴⁹ The value of *shawls* exported increased from £171,709 to £491,441 in

1862.⁵⁰ Mostly French agents purchased the *shawls* in Kashmir and exported these to France.

The *Shawl* Industry was at its height during the second half of the nineteenth century between the years 1846 and 1872. It gave employment to 30,000 to 40,000 weavers.⁵¹ Besides, there were thousands of spinners and others connected with the collection and distribution of wool besides those connected with marketing operations.

Man Behind the Shawl

Besides creating a sensation for its beauty and softness, the *shawl* had become a backbone of Kashmir's economy. "A much larger revenue than that which is obtained from land is realized from the *shawl* manufacture".⁵² The entire functioning of the *shawl* industry right from the collection of the wool from the bushes and other sources, till the finished product reached customer, generated tremendous economic activity, so much so that this industry became an inseparable part of the economic and cultural ethos of Kashmir. Almost all the households in the City of Srinagar and other areas were fully or partly, directly or indirectly, involved in this industry and derived some kind of economic advantage.

The *shawl* industry, no doubt was substantial source of revenue to the government, but it went beyond limits in taxing the industry. The *Pathans* had no taxation policy; they ravaged Kashmir without any rules of the game. The *Sikhs* did have a taxation policy; it was tough and harsh. It was Pathan Governor Karim Dad Khan, who introduced the institution of *Dagshawl*, yet it were the *Sikhs* and *Dogras* who firmly rooted this institution in the soil of Kashmir and enjoyed its fruits at the cost of the weaver. The institution was assigned the duty of stamping a manufactured *shawl*. Besides charging a fee for stamping *shawl*, it also assessed its value for charging a tax on it. The harassment caused by the battalions of *Kardars* employed by *Dagshawl* made things still worse. They were cruel and harsh to them. Government did not only charge the tax on the weaver but also the import duty on the import of raw material and the export duty on the export of the finished goods. On the other hand the earnings of a weaver in 1823 AD were one

anna⁵³ per day and it increased to annas two in 1835 and then to annas six maximum by the end of *Sikh Rule*⁵⁴ It had again gone down to annas two per diem during 1871.⁵⁵ A part of this wage they would be forced to take in rice at a rate higher than market (*Nilve*).

Living conditions of weavers contrasted with the beautiful masterpieces of art, which they created. They worked in small, unventilated and dilapidated rooms from dawn to dusk with their backs bent and eyes concentrated on the design they wove on the loom or worked with a needle. Because of unhygienic conditions, lack of nourishment and overwork, they suffered from chest infection, rheumatism and scrofula.⁵⁶ The *Karkhandar* would lend them the money on marriages and other social functions, which they were never able to pay. And then they would become their bonded labourers. On the other hand the *Karkhandars* lived luxurious lives out of the fabulous profits they made from the *shawl* trade. They lived in palatial houses and maintained a large harem.⁵⁷ Some of them used milk instead of water in their *Hukas*.⁵⁸ Such an unjust dispensation coupled with excesses committed by *Dagshawl* led to a *Shawlba* revolt in 1865 in which more than a score of lives of weavers were lost in a confrontation with the forces of Col. Bejoy Singh. Earlier during *Sikh* period 22 weavers cut off their thumbs⁵⁹ and some blinded themselves to seek riddance from *shawl* weaving.

Such being the human dispensation at the back of the *shawl* Industry in 1870 when Franco-German war broke out, the collapse of the Industry could not be avoided. Tumbling came the edifice, "and I have been told by an eyewitness of the intense excitement and interest with which the Kashmiri *Shawl* weavers watched the fate of France in that great struggle-bursting into tears and loud lamentations when the news of Germany's victories reached them".⁶⁰

Part of Myth and Tradition

The *shawl* had become so much a part of Kashmir's life that many myths and legends had been woven around it. So many benefits flowed from the *shawl* manufacture that its praises formed the songs sung by Kashmiri women in marriages and other festivals.

Kashmiri Pandits made spinning wheel a symbol of god *Indera* and named it after him. They revered and worshipped the wheel. Even *tilak* was applied on its every part. Non-possession of an *Inder* (Spinning Wheel) was considered a bad Women in a Kashmiri household. A festival *Pann* (Named after spun yarn of *Pashmina*) is celebrated by *Kashmiri Pandits* even at present. On this day they prepare *Roth* (baked sweet bread) and present it as oblation to *Inder* (Spinning wheel) and distribute it as a *prasad* to all the neighbours and close relatives. A virgin girl is made to spin the *Pashm* thread on the spinning wheel and the product then worn by the eldest lady of the household. The parts of the spinning wheel were so named as to have religious connotation. The thread round the wheel connected with the spindle for the spinning process, was given the name of *Yona*—the sacred thread worn by *Brahmin* round his neck. The handle of the wheel was given the name of *Chakra*. They revered the industry; apparently, because of the economic advantage they derived as employees of the *Dagshawl* and also the substantial returns to their ladies.

The popular Kashmir tradition has it, that the most revered Kashmiri mystic and poet *Lal Ded* spun a large quantity of *Pashmina* thread for twelve years during her early married life. One day her mother-in-law who did not like her ways, in a fit of fury dropped the entire quantity of the spun thread into the placid waters of the *Dal Lake*. That resulted in the presence of thread in *Nadru* (bein), a reed in *Dal Lake*, which forms the lower part of the slender stem on which the large lotus appears to lie perilously perched in the shimmering waters of the lake. While working on the wheel, Kashmiri women sung a song:

Bahan Werien Yeander Kot Lalea,
Bahi wher chunnenus Hashi Dalas,
That Khat Nader Te Pamposh Thale Thale,
Tithai Kaen Toththo mey bale, Dai,
Yith Kaen tothoyo kho Pomperch Lalea.

For twelve years *Lal Ded* worked at the spinning wheel. Her mother-in-law dropped the entire spun thread into the *Dal Lake*.

That resulted in the growth of *Nadru* and Lotus in the lake. O Lord, as you had taken *Lala* of Pampore under Your cover. Kindly shower upon me the same Love.

Certain metaphors and sayings connected with the *shawl* became the part and parcel of folklore of Kashmiris. They speak of the poor condition of the *Shawlbafts*, who were responsible for such a fantastic creation as *Kani* or *Amlī Shawl*. For instance, the following saying is common among the women of the poorer sections of Kashmiri community:

Sini mohima Sotsal, Rani mohima Khandvave.

If any vegetable cannot be had, one can still get mallows, if husband cannot be had, one can still get a *shawl* weaver.⁶¹

Similarly if a lady from the common folk of Kashmir has to curse a lady in the neighbourhood or otherwise, would say, "may you get a *Shawl* weaver for a husband"?⁶²

Summing Up

Odyssey of Kashmiri *Shawl* is a long tale of many smiles and tears. Born, as it was centuries ago, it made its beginning from the region in the Western Tibet, deep inside Himalayas and the Tien-Shen Mountains in the Central Asia, where from its raw material was collected. Trudging its way over mountain peaks and zigzag paths the *Pashm* wool reached the valley of Kashmir. There it was cleaned and spun by the dexterous hands of the beautiful women of Kashmir and going through about nineteen processes of various specialists including designers, found itself on the loom of weavers. After adding their blood and sweat for months, it was presented to world community as a magic gift of Kashmir's cultural heritage. Earlier it had found its place in the *Caravan* trade from Arabia Flix to Egypt as far back as 1800 BC. In the Indian subcontinent, as per the tradition, it was provided the honour of being presented as dowry gift to *Sita*. Persian kings felt elated in using it for covering their pavilions in the battlefield way back 300 BC. Roman Emperor, Nero awarded it to Grecian athlete to honour him. It formed the part of the costume of the Biblical Characters and was

given the privilege of adoring the proudest beauties in the court of Caesars.

It again found its way back to Central Asia over the caravan route. The great Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin resurrected it to life. Akbar named it afresh as *Parm Narm*. Leonardo de Vinci made it part of his painting - Monalisa and Napoleon presented it to his beloved - Josephine. And then this 'silky web of wool became the indispensable item of an elegant wardrobe' of aristocratic ladies in France. Many hearts throbbed for it. But the men behind this wonder creation were awarded the self-inflicted punishment of cutting their thumbs and blinding themselves for getting riddance from weaving. All were cruel to him, the nature, the *Karkhandar* and the Government.

Now the shawl is dead! What is left is only a tradition. If one were to write an epitaph for the *Shawl*, it could be:

I was born centuries ago, I lived to stir the emotions of millions, I died, unwept, unsung and for no fault of mine.

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Dynamics of Change in Class Relations in Kashmir: An Agrarian-Historical Perspective

Unlike other parts of the Indian sub-continent, the Himalayan State of Jammu and Kashmir had the unique distinction of recording important events and trends from the earliest times in history. But the poet historians of those times have narrated all the events with reference to kings and not the people. There could be some rationale in determining the status of the State in juristic terms with reference to kings, but otherwise the status of the State could be determined by the social organisation which it represented. Peasants being ninety five per cent of the population then, the status of the society could be determined, among other factors, by the status which this section of people held as a result of their productive relations with the land, with those who held the land and those who owned it. The change in the social organisation, could by and large be determined by the undersurfaced statics and dynamics of the forces which determine these relations. So long as the big land holders continue to control land, they become powerful agents of change, but a qualitative change could be affected only when there were fundamental changes in land relations.

It was almost an axiom built by practice over the centuries that land continued to be the sole property of those who wielded sway over it—the small rulers or kings. Says Kalhana "*This king (Sresthasena) of wild disposition was during the thirty years the chief of the rulers who owned the fields of the whole earth as their family property*".¹

The kings granted big chunks of their territory as *agraharas* (*jagirs*) to temples and men of their choice or merit on subjective considerations. King Sacinara founded some of his *agraharas* because by doing so, he believed, he could gain one half of *Indra's* seat in heaven as he had no male issue.² Similarly Lalitaditya Mukhtapida made an expiatory offering of grant of villages to *Siva Jyeshtharudra* (present *Jyesthesvara Tirtha* near *Cheshma Shahi*) after his return from his, what he called the "Conquest of the World".³ King Mihirakula, granted about a thousand villages to Brahmins, as an atonement of his sins for killing the inhabitants of *Aryadesha* when he immolated his body to the flames on an iron board studded with razors, swords, knives, and other sharp weapons.⁴ Queen of king Ananta, Sayamati, granted one hundred and eight *agraharas* to men of gift and great merit.⁵

By and large in ancient Kashmir, the land was held by peasants on behalf of the king through big land-holders, the *Damaras*—a turbulent land holding class and the *Agrahara* managers and they acted as his ryots. Actually peasants acted like the serfs of *Damara* lords and the *Agrahara* managers. The conditions under which the *Damara* lords had held land are nowhere recorded in the chronicles. But specific and firm inferences can be drawn from indirect evidence. For instance, there is conclusive evidence available from the instructions which are supposed to have been sent by King Lalitaditya to his minister through a messenger when he engaged himself in the boundless regions of the North. Lalitaditya is believed to have instructed that the villagers should not be left with more foodstuffs than what is required by them for one year. They should not be allowed even to possess more oxen than required by them on the fields because with more wealth they would grow into strong *Damaras* only in a period of one year and could even challenge the king.⁶ It shows that the growth of a class of *Damaras* was not liked by kings. Lalitadiya's orders must have been dictated by his desire to curb the turbulent land holders on becoming affluent.

There is evidence to show that the *Damaras* were tough and aggressive people with a dominant instinct of possessing land by fair

means or foul. For instance, we find Dhanva, one of the *Damara* lords during the time of King Avanti Varman grabbing all the villages belonging to *Bhutesvara* Shrine in district *Lahara* (modern *Lar*), so much so that nothing produced from the land became available to the priests of the shrine to offer oblation to the God.⁷ King Uccala had to destroy one powerful *Damara* lord, Illaraja, for he had acquired vast land by unfair means. There are numerous instances to show how *Damara* chiefs had grabbed vast areas of land. In fact Kalhana calls them robbers (*Dasyu*) who had usurped all power in rural areas.⁸

Though the *Damaras* had appeared much earlier on the scene, even before King Lalitaditya (700-736 AD), they established their complete hold on land by the end of 11th century. It is the long succession of weak reigns from 1003 to 1089 AD which made the position of the *Damaras* as powerful semi-independent feudal lords. They lived in castles like the *barons* of medieval England. They had even organised a fighting force from amongst their followers. All the people in the feudal hierarchy down below came to be called the *Damaras* and joined their chief in fighting against the king or in favour of this or that party which they chose to be their ally. This class of land holders had grown so powerful, that the state power had to reckon with this force for its survival. The king had to be at their mercy. They would use any strategem including "burning, looting and fighting."⁹

Repeated Turkish invasions in the beginning of the 12th century resulted in the establishment of Delhi *Sultanate*. In this process Kashmir lost control over its neighbouring hill states. Inside Kashmir the *Damaras* found it to be an opportune time for playing their game of gaining power and influence. After a long period of turmoil and warfare, intra-party rivalries, intrigue and conspiracy, they managed to place in power, first the King Uccala and then his brother Sussala. Both these kings were eliminated as and when they tried to stabilise their position. They then installed Sussala's son, Jayasimha on the throne. Even he was not allowed a peaceful term. He was a strong king. But these unscrupulous people egged him on by organising a rebellion against him. The rebellion was

led by a powerful *Damara* of *Kishenganga* valley *Alamakaracakra* who gave refuge to two pretenders, *Lothna* and *Bhoja*, as the true claimants to the throne. But the rebellion was suppressed by *Jayasimha*. After *Jayasimha*, the weak kings who followed could not withstand the forces of destabilisation unleashed by this class of society having landed interests.

The third decade of the 14th century presented a scenario very attractive for foreign invaders. *Dulchu*, a *Tartar* chief from *Turkistan* invaded *Kashmir*. He ravaged it with sixty thousand mounted troops of *Turks* and *Mongols* to the utter helplessness of the people. "When *Dulchu* had left the place, those people of *Kashmir* who had escaped capture, issued out of their strong holds as mice do out of holes, when the violence caused by *Rakhshasa* *Dulchu* ceased, the son found not his father, nor the father his son, nor did his brother meet his brother, *Kashmir* became like a region before the creation, a vast field with men without food and full of grass". (Chronicler *Jonraja*)

In the same decade, *Kashmir* was again, invaded by a *Turkish* chief, *Achala*; this time from *Pir Panjal* route. *Kashmir* land-holding classes, had destroyed the power of kings, and so facilitated the induction of alien culture in *Kashmir*—*Rinchina* having become an instrument of political change. The view held by some that coming of *Muslim* rule brought with it a qualitative change in *Kashmir*, is not borne out by facts. This study leads to the conclusion that the social organisation which continued during the *Shahmir* dynasty and *Chak Sultans* placed the peasant in relation to the land-holder and the king in the same relationship as in the previous period. It was like shifting the kaleidoscope on the same scene from one colour to another. It was only the change of nomenclature and not the essence. *Agrahara* changed into the word *Jagir* and the big land-holder, the *Damara*, into a *Jagirdar* and so on. The status of the peasant continued to be the same. The king continued to be the sole proprietor of the land. The kings continued to grant *jagirs* on subjective considerations. Even great benevolent king *Zain-ul-Abidin* granted *jagirs* to the followers of his son, *Haji Khan* who had retrieved from the position of revolt

against the king.¹⁰ Sultan Shahab-ud-Din gave the villages of Chadura as *jagir* to Acal Raina for being one of his military commanders.¹¹ Sultan Sikander granted numerous *jagirs* to the theologians seeking refuge in Kashmir after Timur's persecution in Central Asia and Persia.¹² In fact all the well-known families of *Magres*, *Rainas*, *Batts*, *Dars* and *Chaks* were the recipients of *jagirs* from various Sultans during this period.

The *jagirdars* and nobles and the managers of religious endowments continued to have sway over the land. *Jagirdars* formed a strong nobility having seats in the councils of the kings and held the posts of ministers. The *Wazirs* were very powerful as to reduce the *Sultans* to the position of mere puppets. We have the examples of the *Wazirs* in this period having distributed whole land of the valley among their relatives¹³ or divided it among themselves.

Various factions of nobles always fought to capture the much coveted post of *Wazir*. There is evidence to show how these nobles invited intervention from outside Kashmir for achieving their goal. During the period of Sultan Shah, one influential noble Malik Ahmad invited the banished *Syed* nobles back into Kashmir to discourage Tazi Bhat who had launched a popular movement in Kashmir. His sole intention was to get his son Nauroz declared as the heir-apparent of Sultan Shah. In 1517 *Magrey* nobles, invited the help of Sikander Lodhi using Sultan Muhammad as their instrument in their game. Similarly one noble Malik Abdal Magrey induced Babar to conquer Kashmir in 1528 AD making Nazuk Shah as his tool. *Magrey* nobles sought the help of Humayun in throwing out *Chak* nobles out of power in 1540 AD. Ultimately, the two groups of nobles used the religious sentiments in a conflict between *Shias* and *Sunnis* for their vested interest, which forced saintly persons like Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi to lead a delegation to Akbar and ask for making Kashmir a part of the Mughal Empire. So, it was again the class of big land-holders who had become instrumental in bringing a change in Kashmir while the mass of peasantry continued to be insignificant as an agency of social change.

Akbar sent Qazi Ali to Kashmir for revenue settlement. He

even abolished *jagirs*. But it was done precisely to increase land revenue for the Central Government. After *Yadgar rebellion* Akbar declared whole of Kashmir as his crown land and placed it under the charge of Khwaja Shams-ud-Din who handled the finances of Punjab. It tantamounted to reducing whole of Kashmir into one *jagir*. If Chak nobles divided Kashmir into two or three *jagirs*, Akbar made only one out of it. The only difference was that while under pervious regimes *jagirdars* and nobles were the agencies of exploitation, now the *Subedars*, *Kotwals* and *Mansabdars* acted as such, though on behalf of the King. The *ryots* continued to suffer. Mughal emperors made Kashmir a seat of enjoyment and in the process added grandeur to the culture of Kashmir.

Even though nobility was crushed in Kashmir under Mughals but not before too long, after the death of Aurangzeb, Mughal empire had already started shaking. Due to fratricidal wars, onslaughts of Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas, conditions had become very fluid. Under such a situation the governors appointed for Kashmir wished to be nearer to the seat of power. So, the Governors began to send their deputies. This practice weakened the hold of Mughals on Kashmir and this gave a fine opportunity to the nobles of Kashmir, who were waiting in the wings, to play their game for restoring their power and influence.

After many convulsions the issue was clinched finally when two leading nobles of Kashmir, Mir Muqim Kanth and Khwaja Zahir Dedmari, invited Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1753 simply to avenge their defeat by Abdul Qasim Khan who had declared himself as the independent ruler of Kashmir. So the nobles of Kashmir were once again instrumental in bringing a change in Kashmir - from Mughal to Pathan rule. It led to the decline in cultural standards.

Afghans treated Kashmir a virtual colony. They were interested in maximising the revenue for the Government at Kabul. This was done by rapacious governors. They fleeced the cultivators for their own pomp and show and their king at Kabul. These governors were so powerful that many of them declared themselves as independent sovereigns. Such an attitude of the governors kept the imperial Government at tenter hooks and in a state of constant

strife with its governors. These conditions provided an excellent opportunity to various factions of nobility in Kashmir for hatching conspiracies to remain nearer to the seat of power. The main contestants of this struggle were the nobility of *Dhars* and the nobility of *Kanths*. They conspired to liquidate each other.

Pathan governors had adopted the method of farming out the whole land on contract to *Chief Revenue Farmers* for a stipulated amount of the revenue annually. For this purpose they had appointed a few *Chief Revenue Farmers*, one of whom was Pt. Birbal Dhar, (1813-19). During the year preceding 1819, there was a total failure of crops. As such Birbal Dhar could not fulfil the terms of contract with the governor—Azim Khan. Birbal Dhar was summoned to an open *Darbar*, and he courageously replied:

“*Ma Kamyā fasl az Khudai*

Shma Mujra megiran”

(“Am I to get credit for the failure of crops from God”.)

The Governor then subjected him to many pressures and other predicaments. *Dhars*, therefore, under the leadership of Birbal Dhar approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh and organised an attack on Kashmir, thereby bringing Sikh rule to Kashmir. Nobles whom the governor had deprived of their *jagirs* once again conspired to bring this political change.

Sikhs ruled over Kashmir for a brief period of about a quarter century. This period did not present any major change in the age-old dispensation of class relations on land. *Jagirs* continued to be granted and resumed on subjective considerations. At the end of Sikh rule the number of *jagirs* had gone up to 3115. These had increased four times.¹⁴ The cultivator besides being the target of *Chief Revenue Farmers*, was crushed under the weight of heavy taxation besides numerous *Abwabs* and *Kharaj* (cesses and taxes). While he continued to be in age-old slumber, the forces behind the scene were slowly shaping to land him in the new scheme of things. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Punjab had been thrown into the throes of complete chaos and anarchy leading to the Sikh confrontation with the British colonialists on the

borders of river Sutlej. In the war that followed, the betrayal of its own commanders had resulted in the crushing defeat of Sikhs. The war ended with the conclusion of a Treaty of Lahore on March 9, 1846. According to the Treaty, the Sikhs were required to pay, one and a half crore of rupees as a war indemnity. But the Lahore *Darbar* was not able to pay the sum and as a result, they were ready to cede the territory lying between the Beas and the Indus, including Kashmir and Hazara. The British diplomats, apparently, for rewarding Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu for his good behaviour, consented to accept only Rs. 75 lakhs against which the territory of Jammu and Kashmir would pass on to him. Thus Kashmir was sold to Maharaja Gulab Singh for a consideration of Rs. 75 lakhs, under a separate Treaty called the Treaty of Amritsar.

Dogra rule in Kashmir presents a unique basket of worst form of feudal exploitation, seeds of modernism and birth of people's revolt against economic exploitation. Maharaja Gulab Singh held firm conviction that he had purchased Kashmir along with its people and livestock, in fact with all the damned things which it contained. So much conscious was he about his proprietary rights that he did not consider even the residential lands outside the ambit of his domain.¹⁵ Even his son Maharaja Ranbir Singh carried this conviction and he included following lines in his *Dastur-ul-Amal* (1st Sawan 1939) "This State has been created by my honoured father, the late Maharaja Bahadur (Gulab Singh) which is confirmed by the Treaty of 16th March 1846 (Treaty of Amritsar) in our possession, without anybody else having any claim on it."¹⁶ Maharaja Gulab Singh was so much obsessed with the payment of seventy five lakh of rupees for purchasing Kashmir that "gazing at the valley from a hill he said that one part was mountains, one part under water while the remaining third was in the hands of *jagirdars*".¹⁷ He could not believe that he would be able to make good the loss and earn the profit from his investment.

Though Maharaja Gulab Singh rationalised the system of granting *jagirs* and resumed many such *jagirs* which had the irrational basis, but at the same time, he perpetuated the system by granting such *jagirs* to his relatives and friends. So says his biographer, "He rewarded his servants liberally, the grant of *jagirs*

that he gave to all who served him, bear witness to this even today".¹⁸ Besides perpetuating *jagirdari* system, *Dogra*s (Maharaja Ranbir Singh) introduced the system of granting various kinds of *Chaks* (fallow lands) for increasing land revenue. This step did not benefit him so much but instead it led to the land grabbing phenomenon and the growth of landlordism in Kashmir. Various land tenure systems were introduced but the corrupt official machinery subverted any system which could tell upon their vested interest. Overassessment of villages and the accumulation of huge revenue arrears as a result of fraudulent practices encouraged the desertion of villages by the cultivators. The dreadful system of *Begaar* augmented the desertions and the cultivators took to rowing from village to village. Before the land settlement of Walter Lawrence the condition of the peasant cultivators was, "infinitely worse than the 'Tiers Estate' before the French Revolution".¹⁹

Agriculture as an occupation had become highly unproductive for the cultivator and he had lost all interest in land. This led to fall in land revenue. Fall in land revenue caused anxiety among British colonialists who were at pains to see that defence of Northern and North-Western frontiers did not suffer for want of funds. Especially, they were worried for getting the *Gilgit Road* constructed as soon as possible, for that was a vital supply line for their forces at the frontiers. So they suggested a fresh land and revenue settlement in Kashmir for which they were ready to provide experts to Maharaja Ranbir Singh. So were sent A. Wingate and W.R. Lawrence to Kashmir one after the other.

The settlement of W.R. Lawrence was a land-mark in the agrarian history of Kashmir. He settled finally the most complicated questions of occupancy rights and revenue assessments. One who was the permanent occupant of a holding or having *Miras* on land was declared as *Assami* whom nobody could eject from land. Similarly, he laid scientific criteria for assessing land revenue in which main considerations were the quality and the location of a piece of holding. Numerous other facilities were provided to the cultivators. After this settlement, it was noticed that peasants returned to their deserted fields and worked with interest. They had developed a sense of belonging. Even *Begaar* was rationalised. But this settlement did

not give the right of sale and mortgaaage to the *Assamis* (landholders). Instead even *Chakdars* were given the status of *Assamis*. Again, this encouraged absentee landlordism in Kashmir.

For centuries, the peasant cultivator had trudged along with a social system in which he had been exploited and the time was not far away when he could no more suffer such an unequal dispensation. Already the symptoms of revolt and defiance had started to unfold. The *Shawl* weavers had gone on strike way back in 1847 for getting their taxes like *Baj* and *Nazrana* reduced.²⁰ On 29th April 1865 the *Shawlbafts* raised a standard of revolt against the Government which taxed them beyond their capacity. Between 1860 and 1870 AD, the average export of Kashmiri *Shawls* valued between 25 to 28 lakhs of rupees annually. But the condition of weavers who created these masterpieces of art was unbearably miserable while the *shawl barons* who were their co-religionists made fat profits. Though they earned seven to eight rupees per month, yet they had to pay upto Rs. 5 towards the Government taxes. Such a situation forced them to undergo a debt, leaving them starving for the month. This was frustrating. On 29th April 1865, they marched in a procession towards *Zaldagar*. They burnt the effigy of Pt. Rajkak Dhar who was the head of *Dag Shawl*—a department controlling *shawl* industry in Kashmir. Suddenly, they were confronted with army, which encircled them and then fired after giving them a due warning to disperse. Many *shawl* weavers were killed and injured partly by army shooting and partly by getting drowned into the marshy canal of *Haji Rather*. Twenty eight dead bodies were returned to the people by the army.²¹ Hundreds of weavers languished in jail at *Habak*.²² Even peasants had mustered courage to complain to Maharaja Ranbir Singh when he toured the valley after introducing his new settlement (*Assamiwar Khewat*) in 1880 AD. He made the officers to pay back all the money which they had taken as bribes from the poor cultivators.²³

The political ferment in the Indian sub-continent under the leadership of Gandhiji provided encouragement to the already defiant mood of the people of Kashmir. Though peasantry was restive, the silk factory workers at Srinagar gave an expression to

their anger, by organising first-ever strike in 1917 and then in 1920 for getting their wages enhanced. Meanwhile granting of *Assami* status to *Chakdars* had encouraged them and in consequence it had created multifold tenancy problems. Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925) had to intervene by passing Tenancy Act, 1923 which indeed, was a great relief for the multitude of tenants in Kashmir.

Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1947) notwithstanding his feudal disposition was modern in his outlook. He had widely toured the advanced countries of the West and was sufficiently aware of various political and economic trends prevailing over there. Therefore he could not put up with the British manipulations. He began with asking the British Resident at Srinagar to remove the Union Jack from the Residency building. On not doing so by the Resident, he got it removed by a detachment of his forces.²⁴ Though it was later restored due to the intervention of Political Department, Hari Singh did not relent in his orders to stop 'the Resident from moving to Jammu with *Darbar Move*. He also made State Flag to fly alongside the Union Jack in Gilgit.²⁵ He even ordered the replacement of British troops by his own troops.²⁶ While the *Maharaja* took cudgels with the British Political Department, he did not lag behind in giving some relief to his subjects. In his proclamation on the day of his coronation in February 1926, he declared "my religion is Justice". He offered to his subjects what he called certain boons which contained concessions to peasant cultivators. He even passed Agriculturists' Relief Regulation which restrained money-lenders from various rapacious practices which engulfed peasant cultivators in never-ending debt traps.

But with all what he did for the welfare of peasantry, he presided over a decadent feudal order and perpetuated it. Only during a brief period of one year (1926-27), Hari Singh granted the following *jagirs* to his favourites from Kashmir valley:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Kaviraj Muraridas ji | - Village of Wakura |
| 2. Thakur Puran Singh ji | - Villages of Mimander and Paniwah |
| 3. Rao Raja Hukam Singh ji | - Villages of Hardohangan and Arabal |
| 4. Rao Rattan Singh ji | - Villages of Walhama |
| 5. Thakur Kartar Singh ji | - Village of Warpora and Chinakpora |
| 6. Wazir Sobha Ram ji | - Village Malangam. |

Besides these *jagirs* which he granted in one year, he had granted many other *jagirs*. The *Maharaja* had also inherited considerable part of state territories from his father *Raja* Amar Singh. These *jagirs* were amalgamated with the State by him at a compensation of Rs. 85,000 annually and 5 per cent revenue from these *jagirs*.²⁷ For his family he was given an allowance of Rs. 4/38,000 annually.²⁸ Under his rulership there flourished 13 big-landed estates above three thousand *Kanals* each in Kashmir valley alone in which 6 belonged to Jammu landlords and 5 to Kashmir land-lords and 2 to religious institutions. There were numerous landlords and *chakdars* having land below three thousand *Kanals*. At the apex of this feudal edifice ruled *Maharaja* Hari Singh.

The simmerings of people's dormant revolt again found expression in a major confrontation between the Silk factory workers and government troops in which seven workers were killed and forty injured.²⁹ Two hundred cavalry soldiers, armed with spears and guns were let loose on defenceless people.³⁰ The young educated people having come out from the portals of Indian universities especially from Aligarh, had started to organise themselves, to begin with, demanding Government jobs for the Muslim educated youth. So was organised the *Reading Room Party* which functioned under a committee of which Sheikh Abdullah was the General Secretary. This was the first important mile-stone on its way to a long struggle of the people of Kashmir to liberate themselves from centuries old feudal order and the establishment of a democratic system.

While the *Reading Room Party* was busy agitating for the job opportunities of educated Muslim youngmen, at about the same time, Maharaja Hari Singh representing Indian Princes in *Round Table Conference* (1931) at London took an anti-British stand and declared: "As Indians and loyal to the land whence we derive our birth and infant nurture, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations." The Maharaja had already taken cudgels with the British Government, and his stand at the *Round Table Conference* had convinced them that the *Maharaja* was not the man who could toe their line. So they started

building pressure on him in order to have firm hold on Gilgit. They, therefore, egged on the leadership of the *Reading Room party* for intensifying their agitation against the Maharaja's Government. After his return from *Round Table Conference*, the Maharaja had invited the representatives of Muslim community from both Jammu and Kashmir divisions to discuss their problems with him. While Jammu Muslims had already nominated their representatives, the *Reading Room party* in Kashmir had called a public meeting on 21st of June 1931 to choose their representatives. The meeting was held and the representatives were chosen. At the end of the meeting one non-Kashmiri stranger Qadeer by name captured the stage and delivered a provocative and seditious speech against *Maharaja's* Government. At a later stage in the struggle, late Maulvi Yousuf Shah confessed that Qadeer was brought on the scene by *Ahmediyas* who were British agents.³¹ Qadeer was arrested and put under trial. The trial was conducted first at the Srinagar Court and later in the Srinagar jail. On 13th of July 1931 when a hearing of the case was due, large crowds had collected in the premises of the jail. There was provocation from either side, which led to the arrest of some leaders and ultimately a confrontation between the people and the police. The police resorted to firing on defenceless people in which about 21 persons were killed which provoked a communal riot at *Maharajgunj* and *Vicharnag*.

Though there is a controversy on the jail episode, but it unleashed a revolutionary temper in Kashmir. A consistent struggle was launched by the leaders of Muslim Conference for the right of self-government. A memorial on the demands of people was submitted to the Maharaja's Government on 19th of October 1931, which besides demanding right of self-government advocated for the proprietary rights for the Zamindars of Kashmir. The upsurge had taken such a turn that on 24th September 1931 people from the city and the nearby villages rallied armed with all sorts of crude weapons, swords, axes, knives, hoes, harpoons and even sticks.³² The weapon which they generally carried was *Narchoo*. That is why this rally was called '*Narchoo Paltan*'. Even Syed Mirak Shah Kashani

came out of his seclusion and marched on a horse-back with a naked sword at the head of thousands of his followers. About sixty thousand people had assembled at Khanyar.³³ A bloody clash with *Maharaja's* army was expected. But the leadership which belonged to a particular class, staggered and therefore sought a meeting with the *Maharaja* which was granted. And they retreated when the *Maharaja* almost abused them.

Due to the pressure built by the mass movement and the intervention of British Government, Maharaja appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of B.J. Glancy, to look after the demands of the people. The recommendations of the Commission were announced on 22nd March 1932. The main recommendation of the Commission was to grant proprietary rights to such cultivators as were declared as *Assamies* by W.R. Lawrence. So it was the first time in the history of Kashmir that such rights were granted to the cultivators. But contrary to the general belief, giving of such rights helped in the growth of land-lordism in Kashmir. The proprietary rights to the small cultivators gave them the corresponding right of sale and mortgage for the land they possessed. They, therefore, went in for a selling spree of their small holdings and in many cases for mortgaging their lands against small loans from money lenders or big land-lords for the unproductive uses, who never returned these lands to them. These lands were added to their estates by the big land-lords. So we find the post-depression period of thirties a worst period for Kashmiri peasantry.

A situation had developed in Kashmir, where the scope of the mass movement could not be confined to the narrow goals of one community. The problems were gigantic. Besides, next generation of the leadership of the Muslim Conference had been influenced by the ideas of French and Russian Revolutions and therefore wanted revolutionary changes. Sheikh Abdullah who had sway over the organisation was under pressure from *Mullahism* and he wanted to shun it. He also came into contact with the leaders of Indian National Congress who influenced him. Communist leaders like Fazal Illahi Qurban, Prof. Abdullah Safdar visited Kashmir in 1937 from Lahore. Their visit was followed by B.P.L. Bedi and his

European wife Freida Bedi. They came very close to Sheikh Abdullah who became a willing recipient of their ideas. It was therefore decided to change Muslim Conference into National Conference. Before actually effecting the change a *National Demand* was signed by the leaders of Hindus (mainly Kashmiri Pandits) and Muslims which gave the broad lines which the emerging movement would follow.

So, Muslim Conference was changed into National Conference on 10th June 1939. Under National Conference the struggle for freedom was carried ahead with a radical programme. This programme was contained in a memorandum for the Royal Commission in 1944 which was headed by Justice Ganga Nath. The Commission had been constituted for examining constitutional reforms for the state. This memorandum was latter on published and was given the nomenclature of *New Kashmir*. Besides suggesting the constitutional set up for the state, it provided the peasants', workers' and women's charter. It pleaded for the total abolition of feudal order in Kashmir and giving unto the people of Kashmir a democratic system.

By the time the struggle for achieving the goals set in New Kashmir could come to fruition, quick developments had taken place on the world political scene. The war had come to an end with the defeat of fascist forces. Labour Government had come to power in England. They had declared the policy of granting independence to India. As a result, they sent Cabinet Mission to India to work out a constitutional formula for the transfer of power. They had decided to honour the treaty obligations while transferring power to the Princely States. As such, National Conference presented a memorandum to this Mission. The Memorandum contained the following lines:

"... The question of Treaty Rights of the Princes has become a moot point between the people of the states, the princely order and the paramount power. For us in Kashmir, the re-examination of this relationship in its historical context is a vital matter.

Nearly 100 years ago, the people of Kashmir became the victims of a commercial deal by the covetous agents of

East India Company. For the paltry consideration of Rs. 75 lakhs of Sikh currency rupees (less than a half million pound sterling) the people of Kashmir, the land and its potential wealth, were sold away to *Maharaja* Gulab Singh, the *Dogra* vassal of the Sikh Kingdom.

We challenge the moral and political validity of the *Sale Deed*, to which the people of Kashmir were never a party and which has since 1846, been the document of their bondage."³⁴

Submission of the Memorandum was followed by *Quit Kashmir Movement* which challenged the Treaty of Amritsar. It demanded the termination of the *Dogra* rule in Kashmir. The leaders were arrested. Sheikh Abdullah was put on trial for sedition. Meanwhile the events changed in quick succession. The country was divided. Pakistan sent tribal raiders to Kashmir. The Maharaja left Kashmir on 25th October 1947. Monarchy had tumbled and fallen into the dustbin of history. Kashmir acceded to India on 26th October and Sheikh Abdullah was inducted as Head of the Emergency Administration. He became the Prime Minister on 5th March 1948.

In his first broadcast as the Prime Minister of J&K State on March 21, he announced the passage of important land reforms which were:

1. Abolition of the *Jagirdari* System.
2. Resumption of *Mukarraries*.
3. Stay on ejectments.
4. Moratorium on non-commercial debts.

It was followed by a comprehensive land reform in 1950 when *Big Landed Estates Abolition Act* was passed on October 7, 1950. According to this Act, a ceiling was placed at 22.75 acres of land and the rest of the land was distributed among bonafide tillers without paying compensation whatsoever. The *Distress Debtors Relief Act* 1949 was enacted. According to this Act, *Conciliation Boards* were established which settled the debts of the peasant cultivators to their best satisfaction. Only a summary procedure was provided for the settlement. All these reforms were

implemented with the help of peoples' Committees.

Abolition of monarchy was legalised and sweeping land reforms fortified from the onslaught of the law of the land by passing a separate constitution in Kashmir which could become possible due to the provision of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. So was abolished the feudal order along with the institution of monarchy in Kashmir for ever. Revolutionary changes in land relations in Kashmir, had brought a qualitative change in the social organisation and ushered in an era of social and cultural advancement: People forged ahead on the path of progress and economic prosperity. A steady and consistent increase in endowments or inputs facilitated the change. The quantity of fertilizers distributed in the state increased from 5.42 thousand tons in 1970-71 to 25.24 thousand tons in 1983-84.³⁵ The number of tractors required in the state in 1973-74 was 632 and the number increased to 2083 in 1983-84.³⁶ The agricultural loans advanced by the agricultural credit societies increased from Rs. 2.91 lakhs in 1950-51 to Rs. 289 lakhs in 1968-69 and to Rs. 464.27 lakhs in 1980-81.³⁷ As a result of all these factors emerged a situation where peasant worked on his own land with full interest, the net domestic product from the agricultural sector in the state, including live-stock, increased from 55.53 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 226.54 crores in 1975-76³⁸ (at current prices). The average yield per hectre of land also increased. The increase of two major cereal crops, paddy and wheat, the yield per acre (Kashmir only) increased from 22.59 quintals in 1964-65 to 27.04 quintals in 1983-84 and from 4.06 quintals in 1964-65 to 6.77 quintals in 1983-84 respectively.³⁹ The export of fresh fruit alone from the orchards increased from 0.998 million tonnes in 1971-72 to 3.822 million tonnes in 1980-81.⁴⁰

There has been overall advancement. The number of primary schools increased from 1115 in 1951-52 to 5842 in 1975-76. The Middle and High Schools (including Higher Secondary) for the same period increased from 139 to 1885 and from 55 to 723 respectively.⁴¹ Such an expansion in the educational facilities provided tremendous opportunities to the children of the peasant cultivators for education, especially when education was declared

free after 1953 (from primary to university level). Similarly a Primary Health Centre has been provided at the block level. The number of such centres had increased from 33 in 1960-61 to 80 in 1975-76.⁴² During the same period the Allopathic, Unani and Ayurvedic dispensaries had increased from 97 to 243 and from 115 to 365 respectively.⁴³ The service of mass immunisation to all children is rendered free of charge. All this has resulted in the fall of death rate from 8.5 (per thousand) in 1968 to 6.8 in 1973.⁴⁴ The peasant is no more a helpless victim of dreadful epidemics of smallpox, cholera or plague. No Starvation deaths are caused either due to famines or floods.

Due to the availability of quick means of transport and communication, the isolation of the peasant cultivator has completely broken. A large number of rural roads were constructed between 1953-64. The mileage of roads in Kashmir alone increased from 4,798 Kms. in 1965-66 to 7,512 Kms. in 1975-76.⁴⁵ All this coupled with the electrification of villages had a tremendous impact on the attitude and the outlook of the peasant cultivator. During 1950-51, there were hardly 12 villages in Kashmir which had the facility of electric power but in 1970-71 the number had gone upto 449 villages and 1052 villages in 1975-76.⁴⁶ There are plans to electricfy all villages within a short period of time. Besides the role played by various rural extension service agencies and rural broadcasting and Television programmes has gone a long way in changing the outlook of peasant cultivators.

The peasant cultivator in Kashmir, today has neither to work on *Agraharas*, nor on the landed estates of the *Damaras*, *Magres*, *Rainas*, *Sayeds*, *Kanths* and *Dhars* but on his own land. He is the master of his fate and the planner of his future. He has a right to vote. Politicians may wrongly use him, but in the ultimate analysis they have to depend on him. He is in a position to change governments.

Only about a hundred years back the condition of Kashmir peasantry was compared with 'The Tiers Etate', before French Revolution and today the peasant is the master of his own land. He is supposed to be the tiller of his land, he hires labour from Bihar, UP and Rajasthan to get his land tilled by paying good wages and himself, he attends to an orchard or runs a rice mill or

attends a shop or takes a small contract. Unlike the peasant cultivator during thirties, a rich peasant today owns a small orchard, a good house, roofed with galvanised tin sheets, with a radio set or transistor and in many cases a TV set. The middle peasant leads an average life and the marginal farmer is not below the poverty line and does not suffer for want of food. His condition is not like his brethren in that part of Kashmir which is under Pakistan occupation, where his status is nothing beyond a serf in the age old system of big landed estates and *jagirs*.

The social change in Kashmir has led to economic and cultural advancement in the valley, but the growth of *Kulaks* (rich peasants) in the rural side and the burgeoning forth of a class of *nouveau riche* in cities and towns may have contributed to the present malady. This question needs a thorough investigation.

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Odyssey of Kashmiri Pandits

From the labyrinth of prehistory they emerged unscathed. The trudge was tortuous. Tradition says Kashmir valley was a lake. Geologists confirm. The lake was to be drained. Indeed, a difficult operation. But it was done. Done with meticulous precision. By nature or man? But it was a trying experience. *Carbon 14* dating tests of the materials from the Burzahom excavations establish their antiquity 4325 years back. The comparison of skeletal remains with other neolithic excavations in India further prove their antiquity. The comparisons of the crania with *Harappan* cemetery R 37 series show a marked similarity. The strong traces of *Tantricism* found in the material remains of *Indus Valley Civilisation* are comparable with the symbols used by Kashmiri Pandits during their "*Vatak Puja*" even today. They have the *Harappan* links. Even Pergiter in his great work (Ancient Historical Tradition) provides ample evidence to show that Indo-Aryans entered into Indian Subcontinent not from the North West but from the Himalayan ranges of Kashmir. They came across original settlers in Kashmir.

Belonging as they were, to the ancient most culture of the valley of *VITASTA*, Kashmiri Pandits at no stage of history ceased to make contributions. The gifts supplied to northern India by "*Haimastavas*" of "*Sabhaparvas*" of *Mahabarta* included even Kashmiris. They presented silks and woollens. There is a tradition in Kashmir which says that *Kuravs* presented 10,000 Kashmiri *shawls* to *Pandvas*, "and that Kashmiri *shawls* formed the part of the dowry of *Sita*."

Imagine the challenge the Himalayas presented 2300 years back. They mustered it. Kashmiri Pandit monks and missionaries dared the trek across and spread the message of the great Buddha at the cost of their lives. A few of the notables were Gautam Sangha, Buddhayasas, Vimalaksha Buddhajiva, Shakyashri Badhra, Ratanvira and Shama Bhatta etc. Even Kumarjiva, referred to in China as "one of the four suns of Buddhism" received education in Buddhist thought and tradition at the hands of Kashmiri scholars. It was he who, along with a group of Kashmiri Pandit scholars made Kucha a seat of Buddhist learning in Central Asia. Gunaverman was one Kashmiri Pandit scholar who converted whole of Java and all its islands to Buddhist faith. Kashmiri scholars were not only instrumental in defusing Buddhism to Tibet, China, and other places in South East Asia but also enriched it in its content and form. They changed it from "*lesser*" to "*greater*" vehicle (from *Hinyana* to *Mahayana*) and succeeded in bearing upon it the impress of Kashmiri *Saivism*. Kashmir those days represented a laboratory in which Buddhist thought and philosophy were dissected at the hands of learned Kashmiri Pandit scholars. It attracted chain of scholar-pilgrims from distant lands. Huen Tsiang, Che-mong, Fa-yong, and Qu-kong all visited Kashmir to study Sanskrit and Buddhist philosophy. Kanchika chose it as the pride place for a Buddhist conference.

The philosophical thought which Kashmiri Pandit scholars propounded and advocated was ever-evolving and growing. When at the end of Eighth Century Buddhism in Kashmir lost its glory and the new thought "*Advaita*" of Shankaracharya made an impact, Kashmiri scholars gave monastic interpretation to *Saivism* in Kashmir. And this was done by Abhinavagupta. In the Eleventh century AD Ramanuja had to travel all the way from Madras to fight *Saivism* in its homeland.

Kashmir has produced great kings like Lalitaditya and Avantiverman in ancient times. But there was no dearth of bad kings. King Jauluka and Mehrkula persecuted Buddhists. Thousands of *Viharas* were Burnt. Whatever the case might have been, these kings never interfered with creative activities of Kashmiri Brahmins. With the crumbling down of Hindu monarchies

Kashmiri Pandits were in for trouble. Sahdeva was the last of Hindu Kings. He was weak. He had left everything in the hands of his able Prime Minister who was also his commander-in-chief. Ramachandra being liberal gave refuge to one Tibetan Prince Renchana and two other adventurers, Shamir from Swat and one Lanker *Chak*. All the three aliens established their rule in Kashmir. Renchana by committing treachery, Shahmir by a regular war, and the *Chaks* after the Shahmir rule of 200 years. Renchana had wished to embrace Hinduism. But he was not accepted by Kashmiri Brahmins. He then embraced Islam. So was provided an opening for the establishment of Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir.

The rule of Shahmir dynasty had hardly completed fifty years, when Sultan Sikander started brutal persecution of Kashmiri Hindus. The persecution was so naked that that he went to the extent of notifying in the city of Srinagar, "that if a Hindu does not become a Muslim, he must leave the country or be killed." (Muslim Historian Hassan) According to this historian, he burnt down three "*Kharwars*" (Six maunds) of the sacred thread (*Jenu*) of Kashmiri Pandits. He destroyed many temples, "wonders of the world", as the said historian would call them. It was Hazrat Amir Kabir who advised him not to indulge in the brutal killings of Brahmins and instead charge *Jazia* from them. This vandal of a king ordered that all the books of great learning be thrown into the *Dal Lake*. And the order was executed. This led to the first mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the pious land of their birth. The ordeal which the helpless victims of cruel history had to encounter in their long journey on foot over the snowy mountain paths of the *Pir Panjal* range can better be imagined than described.

The orgy continued unabated even under his son Sultan Ali Shah. He closed all the paths of escape. Thus the Pandits burnt themselves in flaming fires. Some killed themselves by strangulating, some by poisoning, by drowning and others by throwing themselves from the mountain precipices. Many of them accepted conversion for fear of death. Those who still persisted lived a miserable life on the payment of *Jazia*. They could not openly call themselves Hindus nor go to temples. They could not even put a

"*Tilak*" mark on their foreheads. "They wandered about in Kashmir wearing the dress of *malechas*". (Joneraj)

When something ebbs, it starts flowing. Only after seven years of his rule Ali Shah was lost to history. Perhaps it was due to the process of retribution. His brother Zain-ul-Abidin ascended the throne in 1420 AD. He was a great king. He had been educated in Samarkand for about seven years. He wanted to give fair and strong administration to his people who had been experiencing chaotic conditions for so many years. He needed efficient administrators. The vacuum could only be filled by Kashmiri Brahmins. He called them back and assured them complete religious freedom. He encouraged reconversion and built homes for those widows whose husbands had already been killed. He bestowed *jagirs* on men of merit. Charging of *Jazia* was stopped. Damaged temples were repaired and new temples were allowed to be built. Books of great learning destroyed were sent for from India. He respected Hindu "*Sastras*" and got them translated into Persian including *Mahabarta*. He established a department of translation. Many Persian books were translated into Sanskrit.

In the long history of persecutions, the oasis which king Zain-ul-Abidin provided to Kashmiri Pandits proved ultimately a mirage. Immediately after his death, his son Haider, once again reverted to the policy of cruel persecutions. Kashmiri Pandits had grown sick of religious intolerance and out of sheer desperation they rose in a body and set fire to some mosques which were built with material of demolished temples. What followed was terror. "The rising was quelled by the sword; many more were drowned in rivers and loot and plunder was practised with unbridled license" (Hassan) With the passing of years Kashmiri Pandits had developed tenacity to face and suffer. Hardly about three decades had passed when Musa Raina, the Prime Minister of Fateh Shah under the spell of Shams-ud-din Iraqi forcibly converted about 24000 Pandits to *Shia* faith. (Mohd. Din Fauq). Many of them were killed and many more were forced to run away from Kashmir. Their leader Nirmal Kantha, a great scholar, who wanted to approach the king, was killed along with his associates.

Mughals respected Kashmiri Pandits. Abul Fazl in *Ain Akbari* asserts, "The most respectable class in this country (Kashmir) is that Pandits, who not withstanding their need for freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom are the true worshippers of God. They do not loosen their tongue of calumny against those not of their faith nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in plantation of fruit trees and are generally source of benefit to the people." They were respected because of their scholarship in both Sanskrit and Persian languages. Because of their competence and language skills, they occupied important positions in administration.

But all did not go well with them. Mughals ruled Kashmir through their governors. During the time of Aurangzeb one of the governors Iftikar Khan (1671-75 AD) tyrannized Kashmiri Pandits. Feeling totally helpless a group of *Brahmans* led by Pandit Kripa Ram made a pilgrimage to the holy cave of *Amarnath* to seek riddance from the tyranny of Iftikar Khan from the Lord ! As recorded, they experienced a dream in the holy cave. The Lord directed them to meet Guru Teg Bhadur at Anandpur Sahib. So they travelled to meet the guru. On listening to them he told them that they could get riddance if only somebody could sacrifice his head for this cause. Guru Gobind Singh who was only a boy then and was listening to the whole dialogue intercepted and told *Guru ji* (his father) that there could not be a better person for such a sacrifice than *Guru ji* himself. The *Guru ji* then advised the Kashmiri *Brahmans* that they should go and tell Aurangzeb that they could all convert to Islam only if *Guru ji* advised them to do so. In fact he dictated a memorandum to Kashmiri *Brahmans* for Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb accepted the prayer of Kashmiri *Brahmans* after a patient hearing. He then ordered the safe conduct of Kashmiri *Brahmans* to Kashmir. Subsequently he sent for Guru Teg Bhadur. The heroic dialogue which *Guru ji* had with Aurangzeb on this issue, led to the martyrdom of *Guru Teg Bhadur* and laying of the foundation of the *Sikh Khalsa* by his great son, *Guru Gobind Singh ji*.

The other Mughal governors who persecuted Kashmiri Pandits were Muzaffer Khan (1690-92 AD) and Abdul Nassar Khan (1692-98 AD).

Kashmir fell on evil days with the coming of Afgan rule (1753-1819 AD). Even today when the Kashmiri Pandit children listen to the stories of *Pathan* period from old people, they cannot resist being tearful. When Mir Faqir Ulah Kanth assumed the rulership of Kashmir as a rebel, he enlisted the services of *Bomba* and *Khoka* tribes to tyrannise Kashmiri Pandits. "Each morning a number of *Bombas* entered the Pandit houses. The inmates were humiliated, put under arrest, and thereafter their houses were put on fire." (Anand Ram Phalwan) About two thousand Kashmiri Pandits were converted to Islam by force. (Hassan) In every Kashmiri Pandit family "*Khoka*" is a household word. When a mother wants a child to desist from doing a mischief, she cries "O! the *Khoka*, *Khoka* coming."

It was Mir Muqim Kanth who had been instrumental in facilitating the introduction of *Pathan* rule in Kashmir. His son Faqir Ullah Kanth had only followed the policy of his father in terrorising Kashmiri Pandits. About Sixtyseven years of *Pathan* rule had been a period of great tension for Kashmiri Pandits. A period of trials and tribulations. Pandits, led by *Dhars* had to adopt the policy of diplomatic hide and seek for their survival. In spite of the great courage and patience which they exhibited they lived a life from moment to moment expecting a knock at the door any time. It was a life of subdued pain and anguish. Haji Karim Dad Khan (*Subedar*) collected all Kashmiri Pandit notables, huddled them into a small room and almost choked them to death with the smoke of cowdung and finally extracted from them a commitment to pay him Rs. 50,000 annually as a tax. This tax was named as *Zari Dudha*. One *Pathan* governor Hazar Khan had put Pandit Dila Ram Quli (Prime Minister) to death and there were thousands of Kashmiri Pandits tied up back to back in pairs and drowned in river Jehlum. All these facts have been testified by Muslim historians of Kashmir.

While the *VITASTA* (Jehlum) continued to flow with its ancient glory, it could not help carrying along the blood of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits. It could not either escape being a witness to the cries, wailings, and sobbings of the women and children who were being forcibly snatched of their near and dear ones. The *VITASTA* could no more enjoy the floating of thousands of flaming "*Dipikas*"

over its shimmering waves under the cool evening breeze of the beautiful valley. No more were such festivals held. No more stood all the lofty temples on its banks. Iconoclasts had destroyed these symbols of Kashmir's ancient cultural glory.

Azim Khan had crushed Kashmiri Pandits on the suspicion of having conspired with *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh, though the reasons for *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh's first attack on Kashmir were well known. As a result he killed Pandit Hardas Tiku in 1813 AD. He then imposed *Jazia* on Pandits and took to religious persecution. But all this could not last long. Because of constant crop failures Pandit Birbal Dhar who was the *Chief Revenue Farmer*, could not keep terms of revenue contract with Azim Khan. Azim Khan being rash and ruthless pressurized him for money. One day when Birbal Dhar was summoned to an open Darbar he replied courageously:

"Am I to get credit for the failure of crops from God".

The *Subedar* felt insulted. Next morning one hundred soldiers were sent to his house and the intervention of his uncle Pt. Mirza Pandit Dhar was solicited. While pressure was kept on Pandit Birbal Dhar, the news trickled to the Pandit that next morning they were going to convert him to Islam forcibly. (Gulabnama) Taking his uncles, Mirza Pandit Dhar and Pandit Sehaz Ram Dhar into confidence, he left Srinagar for *Deosar*. He trusted his wife and daughter-in-law to his Muslim friend, Kh. Abdul Qudus Gojwari. At Deosar his son Pt. Rajkak Dhar was a *Tehsildar*. There he was helped by *Maliks* (the guardians of the passes) whose *jagirs* had also been confiscated by Azim Khan, to cross *Pir Panjal* along with his son. They reached Jammu where *Raja* Gulab Singh helped them with a letter on his brother *Raja* Dhyani Singh at Lahore Court. *Raja* Dhyani Singh introduced the great Pandit to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Pandit Birbal Dhar pleaded for military support for shaking off Afghan rule from Kashmir. Ranjit Singh already had a bitter experience of his attack on Kashmir. So he put certain conditions to Pandit Birbal Dhar which he accepted. Leaving his son Pt. Rajkak as a surety with Lahore *Darbar*, he was allowed a support of 30,000 army which was headed by veteran generals like *Raja* Gulab Singh, Hari Singh Nalwa and others. The battle

that ensued in Kashmir resulted in the defeat of Afgans. So on 20th June, 1819 AD, Birbal Dhar entered city of Srinagar alongwith the victorious army to a tumultuous welcome by the people. So was Afgan rule shaken off from Kashmir. The wife of Pandit Birbal Dhar and his daughter-in-law had been traced out earlier and brought to *Sher Gari*, in a *Shikara* to be presented before the *Subedar*. Pt. Birbal Dhar's wife poisoned herself to death by chewing the diamond of her ring, while his daughter-in-law was taken to Kabul never to return.

In this long trail of religious persecutions, what is glaringly clear is that it has never been resorted to at people's level. It was done by Muslim Sultans, Mughal governors, and foreign religious zealots. There are numerous examples available in Kashmir history where we find religious communities coming to each others help at such crises. During 15th century people of Kashmir, both Hindus and Muslims united to fight Sayyid zealots under the leadership of Tazi Bhat and Saif-ud-din Dar. In fact many battles were fought across river Jehlum. When Muhatta Khan, having vested interest declared himself as the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* and decreed for the persecution of the Hindus, it was obeyed by only a limited band of his followers. We have non-Muslim historians on record to show that in the rural side the Hindus were protected by their Muslim bretheren and that this persecution did not trickle down to countryside. Again when Pandit Birbal Dhar left Kashmir for seeking help from Maharaja Ranjit Singh he left his wife and daughter-in-law to the care of a Muslim friend who protected them at the cost of his own life. Local Muslims helped him to cross *Pir Panjal* range. Likewise during the Sikh times when a Sikh Commander Sardar Phula Singh trained his guns on the mosque of Shah Hamdan, from the opposite side of the river Jehlum, the leading Muslims of Srinagar city led by Sayyid Hassan Shah Qadiri Khanyari approached Pandit Birbal Dhar. Pandit Birbal Dhar moved in the matter very quickly and due to his intervention the Khanqah was saved from being blown up.

In recent times communal orgy against Kashmiri Pandits was engineered by various agencies. Riots during early thirties were manipulated by the British resident to pressurise *Maharaja Hari*

Singh for surrendering Gilgit agency. During 1947 Pakistani raiders besieged Baramullah town and let loose a reign of terror among Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs. They were the victims of arson, loot and murder. In recent years during 1986 at Anantnag scores of Hindu Temples were desecrated, idols broken, and many images of gods and goddesses drenched in dirt and filth thrown into rivers and rivulets. It was all engineered by one of the power brokers of present day India for his personal ambition. Even at present it is the *Zia plan* being operated under the guidance of ISI.

So the odyssey of Kashmiri Pandits has come round to square one. When the first exodus took place during the time of Sikander "Butshiken" the chronicler Joan Raja bemoaned, "*oppressed by various calamities, such as encounter with the enemy, fear of snakes, fierce heat, and scanty food, many perished on their way.*" So are dying Kashmiri Pandits in similar fashion even today—by heat strokes, snake bites, for want of food, medicines and accommodation. Then it was 600 years back under Sultan Sikander who was a religious bigot. Today it is under the secular and democratic India. An irony!

From the Debris of History

Not too often though, the march of history, in its unique sweep places precious evidence about very important events into its dustbin only to be unravelled by researchers after a lot of controversy. That is what happened with the events which took place in 1947 when Kashmir acceded to India. Very important papers and documents which could have thrown light on these events were declared classified and not available to researchers. Among these documents the most important ones were the Mountbatten Papers and the Minutes of the Defence Committee. Of late these papers have been declassified by India Office Library, London. A thorough study of these papers alludes to British mischief which they played in a very subtle and covert manner.

To begin with, British Service Chiefs—who were the members of the Cabinet Defence Committee, supported by Lord Mountbatten (the Chairman of the Committee) in a meeting on 26 October 1947, opposed sending of troops to Kashmir, when Pakistani invaders were knocking at the doors of Srinagar and were about to occupy Airport. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Sardar Baldev Singh all were at pains to air-drop troops at Srinagar Airport to defend the State against Pakistani aggression. The Service Chiefs argued that one battalion of troops would not be sufficient if an uprising took place in Kashmir and then there were difficulties in making supplies providing transport to the troops and above all there was the paucity of military aircrafts. In any case the Service Chiefs believed the Airfield at Srinagar was likely to fall into the hands of the enemy within hours. But every one of their arguments was refuted by Pt. Jawahar

Lal Nehru. He asserted that there could be no uprising in Kashmir, that Civil aircrafts would be made available to fill in the gap and that Civil transport for carrying troops would be facilitated at Srinagar. The supplies to the army could be managed over the BC. Road which remains open even during the month of November. After receiving a strong retort from Nehru, the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army Gl. Lckhart, exhibiting his true colours, asked if Kashmir was of vital importance to India. In reply "Nehru and Patel both declared without hesitation that the future of Kashmir was vital to India's very existence." The snub clinched the whole issue. And when the success of the air-lift was established even Mountbatten had to confess "that in all his war experience he had never come across an air-lift of this order being undertaken successfully at such short notice."

In the month of November 1947 under the orders of the Service Chiefs, a paper on defense appreciation of Jammu and Kashmir State was prepared and submitted on 26 Nov. According to this paper the J&K State, at that moment, required, four Infantry brigades, each consisting of four battalions. Two of these brigades would be deployed on Jammu fronts, one at Uri and the other at Srinagar. This would be the commitment for winter months. The Defence Committee considered this paper in a meeting on 28 November 1947. Lord Mountbatten supported the proposals made by his Service Chiefs. In support he alluded to prevailing winter conditions, poor state of communications and India's capacity to maintain large force in Kashmir. Nehru, however, disagreed and advocated very strongly for advancing to *Domel* and even to Kohala. Gl. Lockhart on the other hand, opined that it would be risky to hold *Domel* for problems of maintenance and lines of communications. "*Nehru contested this line of reasoning. He said a balance had to be struck between the risks involved and the psychological effect on invaders of retaining the initiative in Indian's hands. He deprecated a defensive attitude.*" Again Mountbatten threw his full weight behind Lockhart even though he conceded to the strategic importance of *Domel*. Nehru forcefully reiterated his stand for marching ahead towards *Domel*. The Committee, therefore, directed the Commander-in-Chief to examine with Maj. Gl.

Kulwant Singh, the feasibility of occupying *Domel* or sending a strong detachment to blow up the bridges in that area. Although the decision for marching ahead to occupy *Domel* was taken, yet it was postponed to Spring Offensive for considerations of regular and sustained military supplies which could not be possible during winter months.

Nehru was conscious of the fact that the advice of the Service Chiefs would be tailored to suit British interests. He had from the first day of Kashmir operations instructed Defence Minister, Baldev Singh to ask certain officers of the Indian Army, secretly prepare defence appreciations independently of Service Chiefs. He had confided to Brigadier Hira Lal Atal his Liaison Officer, in following words:

"I have asked our heads of services to prepare a full appreciation of possible developments and what we can do about them. I have separately asked the Defence Minister to get plans and appreciations from senior Indian officers of Three Services. This will be kept secret by us".

Meanwhile the situation on Jammu fronts had become critical. Pakistani invaders had by the beginning of November occupied Bhimber, Rajouri and Rawalkote. They had posed a serious threat to State garrisons in Mirpur, Kotli, Poonch and Naoshera, Poonch was encircled and even supplies by air could not be made because the Airport had been made unserviceable by Pakistani artillery.

Immediately after Kashmir Valley was cleared of invaders, attention was focused on Jammu. Pt. Nehru wanted whole of Poonch-belt (the Middle Sector) and the belt south of Poonch-belt completely cleared of the invaders. Mountbatten and the Service Chiefs were not inclined to do so. Actually at the background, it was the Whitehall which believed that Indian control of the Western borderlands of Jammu would pose a grave strategic and economic threat to Pakistan. They never wanted such a situation to arise. Pakistan was planning linking Poonch with Uri and open the floodgates for Kashmir Valley. It could not have been without British connivance as was unfolded later when they came in true colours in the Security Council.

So when Mountbatten was away from India between Nov. 9 and Nov. 25 to attend the wedding of his nephew at London, Gl. Kulwant Singh, taking advantage of the decisions of the Defence Committee on 14 Nov., issued orders on 16 Nov. for early relief to Noashera, Jhangar, Kotli Mirpur and Poonch. On 18 Nov. a column from Jammu relieved State garrisons at Naoshera and Jhangar, on 19 Nov. Kotli. On 26 Nov. Brigaddier L.P. Sen was ordered to send a column from Uri to Poonch which reached Poonch with difficulties. Mirpur was evacuated on 25 Nov., 1947. By the end of Nov., situation in Jammu was markedly improved.

When Mountbatten returned he was faced with fait accompli. He stood outmanoeuvred. He complained to Nehru in writing about the change of military objective during his absence. Nehru wrote back, *"you will remember that from the very first day we discussed the Kashmir Issue, I have laid stress on the fact that we must drive out the raiders and establish peace and order in Kashmir."* The differences between Nehru and Mountbatten became the main subject of discussions in the Cabinet Defence Committee for about a fortnight leading to climactic exchanges between Governor General and the Prime Minister.

By Dec. 9 Nehru's two rounds of discussions with his counterpart, Liaqat Ali Khan for finding a peaceful resolution had proved infructuous. Meanwhile invaders had stepped up their operations from sanctuaries based in Pakistan. Nehru was disappointed with defensive tactics employed by the Service Chiefs. He, therefore, scribbled his views in a detailed incisive policy note:

"Are we to allow Pakistan to continue to train new armies for invasion and allow its territory to be as a base for these attacks? The obvious course is to strike at these concentrations and lines of communications in Pakistan territory. From a military point of view this would be most effective step...."

When Mountbatten came to know Nehru's new thinking he was alarmed. He thought that the war between two dominions was imminent. A meeting of the Defence Committee was called

on Dec. 20. The Prime Minister *ab initio* started with the remark that the situation as existed was unacceptable. It was, therefore, necessary to conduct military strikes into Pakistan which would mean Indian forces to enter the districts of Sialkote. Gujarat and Jhelum wherefrom the invaders operated. He, therefore, asked the Chiefs of the Staff to view Kashmir and West Punjab as a single area. It was a great provocation to Mountbatten who suggested that the proper course would be to refer the whole matter to the U.N. He said that India had a strong case and U.N. would promptly direct Pakistan to withdraw the raiders.

It was not for the first time that suggestion for referring the Issue to the U.N. was made to Nehru. Mountbatten had prepared Liaqat Ali Khan separately for accepting the proposal when he would present it in the Joint Defence Committee at Lahore on Dec. 8. When the proposal was made Liaqat Ali readily accepted it and Nehru rejected it with whemence. He told Liaqat Ali Khan "*...the only solution was to clear Kashmir with the sword and that he would throw up his Prime Ministership and lead men of India against the invaders.*"

With an impasse confronting the Defence Committee, Prime Minister suggesting attack on Pakistani base-camps and Governor General suggesting sending the case to the U.N., a compromise proposal was mooted by the Defence Committee ;of referring the case to the U.N. and preparation of contingency plans by Service Chiefs for military operations to evict the raiders from their bases in Pakistan. It was under these circumstances that the Kashmir question was referred to the U.N. despite Nehru's tough resistance.

Earlier in the Defence Committee meeting held on 3 Dec. our Defence Minister along with Sardar Patel supported by Prime Minister had proposed creating of Cordon Sanitaire establishing 10 mile deep belt on our side of the border from Naoshera to Muzfarabad in which extensive bombing operations should be conducted against the invaders from Pakistan. Mountbatten resisted with the albi that civilian Muslim population would be harmed. Sardar Patel pointed out that Muslim leaders from Kashmir had themselves made the suggestion. Mountbatten then

took refuge in military arguments. But the ministers were not convinced. The Defence Committee, ordered the Chiefs of the Staff to examine the proposal as a matter of great emergency. Despite the decisions of the Defence Committee, the Service Chiefs finessed the proposals of creating the Cordon Sanitaire or raid on *Domel* for destroying bridges on the *Krishen Ganga*.

At the end what is debatable is whether the retention of British Service Chiefs after independence was a correct decision. The military and diplomatic compulsions of the times and the thinking at present require to be properly evaluated and the conclusions drawn.

Pak Generals Expose Pakistan

A case founded on lies can never sustain. It is not before too long that lies get exposed and the whole case loses its bottom. Precisely it is true with Pakistan's approach to Kashmir. Pakistan Government may continue to speak one lie after another to misinform their gullible people, but their army generals and other VIPs have let the cat out of bag. They have exposed Pakistan Government to the hilt through their writings after their retirement.

It was way back in Oct. 1947 that Pakistan Government organized an invasion of Kashmir. In the early hours of morning on Oct. 22 the tribal Lashkar, under the guidance of Pakistan Army gate crashed into Muzaffarabad and marched towards Uri. Despite the heroic resistance put up by Brig. Rajinder Singh who acquired martyrdom while fighting, the Pakistani hordes captured Uri, Mohra and then Baramulla. When they were about to capture Srinagar Airport, there were swift developments. Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on 26th Oct. 1947 and Mountbatten the next morning and the Indian troops landed on Srinagar Airport the same day. Meanwhile, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had organized a patriotic resistance movement to keep the enemy at bay. Men, women and children had actively joined the resistance campaign against the Pakistani hordes.

After about two months the Indian Government went with a complaint to the Security Council. They charged Pakistan of the facts:

- (a) that invaders are allowed transit across Pakistan;

- (b) that they are allowed to use Pakistan territory as a base of operations;
- (c) that they include Pakistan nationals;
- (d) that they draw much of their military equipment, transportation, and supplies (including petrol) from Pakistan; and
- (e) that Pakistan officers are training, guiding, and otherwise actively helping them.

But the Pakistan representative in the Security Council, Mr. Zafrullah Khan had the audacity to stand up and bluff the Security Council in following words:

“...Pakistan Government emphatically deny that they are giving aid and assistance to the so-called invaders or have committed any act of aggression against India”

The Pakistani bluff was called off when the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan visited J&K state in July 1948 and found Pakistan Army Brigades physically present on the soil of the state and actively involved in military operations. They shamelessly pocketed the embarrassment even when Sir Owen Dixon charged them of having violated the international law when they crossed the frontier of the J&K State in Oct. 1947 and again when the units of their regular forces moved into the state in May, 1948.

Interestingly General Akbar Khan who was then heading these operations under the pseudonym of General Tariq exposed the details of Pakistan Governments plans in his book, “Raiders in Kashmir”, after his retirement. He also wrote an article in the Defense Journal of Pakistan (June-July 1985). He writes:

“A few weeks after partition, I was asked by Mian Iftikar-ud-Din on behalf of Liaqat Ali Khan (Prime-cum-Defence Minister of Pakistan) to prepare a plan of action for Kashmir. I found that army was holding four thousand rifles for the civil police. If these could be given to locals, an armed uprising in Kashmir could be organized at suitable places; I wrote a plan on this basis and gave it to Mian Iftikar-ud-Din. I was called to a meeting with Liaqat

Ali Khan at Lahore where the plan was adopted, responsibilities allotted and orders issued. Everything was to be kept secret from the army. (Army was still under British Command)

In September, 4000 rifles were issued at various places; the first shots were exchanged with *Maharajas* troops and the movement gathered weight..."

"The performance of the tribal *Lashkar* had been excellent where the ground was suitable for their snipping and hit and run tactics. It is not correct to say that they broke their ranks and went for loot, just when they were within sight of Srinagar.

It was the part of their agreement with major Khurshid Anwar of the Muslim League National Guards, who was their leader that they would loot non-Muslims. They had no other remuneration."

Major General Akbar Khan's revelations have brought to light the conspiracy hatched for invading Kashmir in 1947 and have exposed the chief author of the conspiracy who was none other than the Prime Minister of Pakistan — Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan.

Even Mr. K.H. Khurshid, Jinnah's Private Secretary, who was a Kashmiri Muslim, confesses in his book: *Memoirs of Jinnah* (Karachi, 1990) that the tribal invasion was a criminal folly, which sealed the fate of Kashmir."

In similar fashion Pakistan spoke blatant lies when they launched guerrilla operations inside Indian part of Kashmir under *Operation Gibraltar* in 1965. 'The *Gibraltar Forces*' Head Qr's had given intensive training to the infiltrators, who were no other than soldiers in Pakistan's regular army. Four training centers were set up one of which was at Sinkari in West Pakistan. Chinese had trained them for guerrilla warfare. They crossed cease-fire line on August 5, 1965. They wore civilian clothes and carried along with them modern weapons, cooked food, currency notes and essential medicines. They moved in stray fashion and then assembled at previously fixed places. They were organized into eight contingents,

each commanded by a Major of the Pakistan Army. Each contingent was constituted of six companies with 110 men in each. A Platoon Commander and Junior Commissioned officer in each case assisted the Major.

With their crossing, simultaneously, there appeared on the air a clandestine radio station, which to the utter surprise of the people of the valley announced the formation of Provincial Government and *Revolutionary Council*. The radio station announced that a spontaneous rebellion had taken place in Kashmir. The people in the valley were enjoying the fruits of the revolutionary land reforms and the boom in trade and tourism with free education from primary to university level. They rejected with all the contempt it deserved, the Pakistan's game plan of manipulating a rebellion in Kashmir. Yet Pakistan continued propagating that a rebellion had broken in Kashmir. But the world press exposed Pakistan's claim.

Jaques Nevard of New York Times reported:

"Reports from Pakistan that the trouble in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir is a popular revolt against Indian rule appear to be without foundation."

The Baltimore Sun reported:

"There is no evidence visible in or near the city to support reports from Pakistan of a popular rising against India, nor of repressive measures against the population."

Le Monde, the French Paper wrote:

"....It is more likely that if a revolutionary council or provincial Government were established, those may not be located except on the part of the territory in Pakistan hands since 1947."

Even when world press had exposed Pakistan, they shamelessly mustered the courage to speak a white lie before the Security Council by denying the charge that they had sent any guerrillas to Kashmir.

Once again Pakistani generals and others washed the dirty

Lenin of Pakistan Government on the roadside. General Gul Hasan Khan former Commander-in-chief of Pakistan in his book "Memoirs" writes:

"The decision to mount guerrilla operations in Indian Kashmir was taken shortly after the Kutch affair." At the other place he says, "The guerrilla operation was named *Gibraltar* and another operation supplementary to it called *Grand Slam*, the aim of which was to capture Akhnoor."

Referring to the disapproval of the *Operation Gibraltar* by certain sections of Pakistan Army, the Ex-Chief says:

"The Chief and the CGS, General Sher Bhadur, had from its inception viewed *Gibraltar* as a bastard child born of liaison between the Foreign office and HQ 12 Division—to be precise the Foreign Minister and General Malik." Foreign Minister was Mr. Z.A. Bhutto. Mr. Aftab Gauhar, the former Secretary of Information and Broadcasting Government of Pakistan gives a detailed account of the diabolical plan in his book—Ayub Khan, Pakistan's First Military Ruler. He says:

"Some time after Sheikh Abdullah's visit in 1964, Ayub authorized the Foreign office to prepare a plan in consultation with GHQ to defreeze the Kashmir issue..... Ayub went to Muree on May 13, 1965, six weeks before the cease-fire in Rann of Kutch became effective, to examine the plan that had been prepared by General Akhtar Malik, General Officer Commanding of 12 Division, to launch guerrilla operations in Kashmir. General Malik explained the details of *Operation Gibraltar* on a sand table. Bhutto, General Musa and some other senior officers were present at the briefing, which went on over an hour. Towards the end, Ayub put his finger on Akhnoor, an important town of great strategic value and asked, "Why don't you go for the jugular?" "That would require lot more men and material," replied General Malik. After some discussions, Ayub sanctioned additional funds and told the Commander-in-Chief to provide the necessary

manpower. Thus was Akhnoor introduced into operation, which was shown as redflag in General Malik's plan..... *Operation Gibraltar*, it was understood, would remain a secret and even the Corpse Commander's would not be told about it at that stage."

Even General Yahya Khan demonstrated worst form of stupidity when he totally denied the influx of about a crore of refugees from East Pakistan to India in 1971. Indira Gandhi did not enter into any arguments with Pakistan. She invited world press who saw a constant stream of refugees crossing borders into India day and night. For not accepting a glaring truth and discharging her obligations befitting a civilized nation cost Pakistan its dismemberment.

Lately to join the chorus of his fraternity, the retired Air-Marshall of Pakistan Air Force Asghar Khan has blamed Pakistan for starting 1965 and 1971 wars against India. In the first case by provoking war in Rann of Kutch and in the second case by creating a situation in East Pakistan that India had to be drawn into war. He avered that Pakistan had no danger from India.

Not learning any lessons from history, Pakistan again committed the folly of occupying Indian territory at Kargil and then out of habit denying having done so. President Clinton had to confront Mr. Nawaz Sheriff with Simla Agreement under which LOC was delineated on ground even in that part of Kashmir, which they had crossed. They had to accept the truth shamelessly. Ironically Pakistan continues to speak these falsehoods over their electronic media even today.

How aptly had Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah remarked, "Truth is the first principle of Islamic faith and truth is the first casualty in Pakistan; and the peace loving people of Kashmiri Muslims their first victims."

Pakistan has no Locus Standi in Kashmir— Legal, Political or Ethical

Pakistan has been vociferously talking about Kashmir. One would like to ask them what claim have they on Kashmir—legal, political or ethical? Yes, they have a position that of an aggressor holding a part of the territory of the state illegally. That does not make them a claimant. They talk of U.N. resolution of August 13, 1948, but this resolution did not exist when Pakistan invaded Kashmir in 1947 nor had Kashmir's accession to India taken place. The myth that it was not an invasion but an internal revolt has been exploded by Pakistan's own General, Akbar Khan. He was the man who had prepared the plan for the invasion under the directions and guidance of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, immediately after the partition of India. General Akbar Khan directed these operations under the pseudonym of General Tariq. He has revealed the whole plan of invasion in his book, '*Raiders in Kashmir*' after his retirement. Pakistan is debunked.

Legally Kashmir has become a part of India by signing *Instrument of Accession*—an instrument which was a product of India Independence Act of British Parliament. This document became the part of the Indian Statue Book when the Indian Constitution was passed by the Constituent Assembly of India which had on it members from the J&K state also. In fact the most popular leader of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah signed it in Hindi. That way the leaders of Kashmir had become the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution. Who can undo all this?

A few secessionists from Kashmir argue that at the time of accession, Government of India made a promise that the accession would be confirmed by the people of Kashmir. This commitment was made by Lord Mount Batten in his letter to *Maharaja Hari Singh* simultaneously when he signed the *Instrument of Accession*. The commitment made by him on behalf of the Government was, "that as soon as the law and order has been restored in Kashmir and the soil cleared of the invaders the question of the state's accession should be settled by the people". This was a highly reasonable proposition because the confirmation of the people was to be sought from all the regions of the state—not only by the people from Khanbal to Khadinyar. In fact Nehru was so much sincere about his commitment that he informed the Parliament that he was going to fulfil the commitment at any cost. But Mohammad Ali Jinnah was mortally afraid of the popularity of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in Kashmir and he was never ready for people's verdict under his Government. In fact he made U.N. Resolution of August 13, 1948 infructuous by not withdrawing the occupied areas. Even before the passing of this resolution Pakistan had assured the Security Council that they were ready to vacate because their army brigades had been caught red handed fighting on the soil of Kashmir and they wanted to make amends for that. But they did not do so, where could plebiscite be held?

Instead of making room for holding a plebiscite in J&K state, Pakistan used the fruit of aggression as a jumping off ground for further attacks on India, not once but twice. The 1965 war ended in the *Tashkent Declaration* and 1971 war in *Simla Agreement*. What could be left of U.N. resolutions after these agreements? *Simla Agreement* could become operational only when the parliaments of the two countries would confirm the agreement. It was, therefore, confirmed by the parliaments of India and Pakistan. Pakistan has knocked bottom out of its feet herself.

Politically Pakistan has no case in Kashmir. *Two Nation Theory* on which Pakistan was founded was never accepted in Kashmir. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah rejected it. He had exhorted, "our country has experienced the inroads of the barbarous hordes from

Pakistan, armed with the *Hatred Bomb* of the *Two Nation Theory*. The attitude of Kashmiri patriots to fellow men stands in direct opposition to such an anti-humanist approach. I hold the *Two Nation Theory* is not only anti-social and anti-democratic but violates the will and word of the God. Only those who have become socially blind through the pursuit of political power and sectarian fanaticism can subscribe to a view, which vivisects man kind."

In 1944 Mr. Jinnah visited Kashmir for seeking support for his *Two Nation Theory*. While addressing the annual session of the Muslim Conference at Jama Masjid he declared that "Muslims have one platform, one Kalima and one God. I would request the Muslims to come under the banner of Muslim Conference and fight for their rights". He described National Conference as a "band of gangsters". As a reaction from National Conference, Mr. Jinnah had to face a garland of shoes when he wanted to deliver a lecture at Baramullah. He had to leave Baramullah in a huff so to say under police custody.

In September 1947 when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from jail, he deputed G.M. Sadiq to meet Pakistani leaders at Lahore. He had been directed to seek assurance from them for an internal autonomy within Pakistan if they decided to accede to Pakistan. In reply they made a curt observation that they were all Muslims. The National Conference did not agree with this formulation. There was, therefore, no ideological or political ground for Pakistan's claim over Kashmir.

Even ethically Pakistan has no ground for claiming Kashmir. Before the partition of India, people of Kashmir had fought a long struggle against Autocracy which ultimately culminated in what is called the *Quit Kashmir Movement*. What had motivated this specifically was the visit of British Cabinet Mission to Kashmir in March 1946. In their memorandum to the Chamber of Princes they had clarified that after the British withdrawal from India the Paramountcy over the states would transfer to the princes of these states according to their respective treaty obligations. But the Indian National Congress, The All India States People's Conference and National Conference had rejected these proposals and instead

suggested that the Paramountcy would automatically pass on to the people of these states. Accordingly National Conference submitted a memorandum to Cabinet Mission. Referring to the *Treaty of Amritsar* the memorandum said "..... Nearly 100 years ago, the people of Kashmir became the victims of a commercial deal by the covetous agents of the East India Company. For the paltry consideration of 75 lakhs of Sikh currency, the people of Kashmir, the land and its potential wealth, were sold away to Maharaja Gulab Singh the *Dogra* vassal of the Sikh kingdom.

We challenge the moral and political validity of the sale deed to which people of Kashmir were never a party and which has since 1846 been the document of their bondage.....

We the people of Kashmir are determined to mould our destiny and we appeal to the members of the Cabinet Mission to recognize the justice and strengthen our case."

The Cabinet Mission ignored this memorandum. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah then launched the *Quit Kashmir Movement*. Its main demand was to annul the *Treaty of Amritsar*. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was arrested and charged for sedition. Along with him thousands of his workers were jailed and repression let loose by Scott and Powell front. Indian National Congress supported the movement. Nehru came to Kashmir but was arrested at Kohalla Bridge and put under detention in a rest house at Ghari. But he had to go back for conducting discussion with the Cabinet Mission. Gandhiji came to Kashmir to sympathise with the people of Kashmir. He declared *Treaty of Amritsar* as a sale deed.

While the people of Kashmir were fighting a life and death battle for the annulment of the *Treaty of Amritsar* so that paramountcy could pass on to the people of Kashmir, Mohammad Ali Jinnah came out with a statement describing *Quit Kashmir Movement* "as an agitation of a few malcontents out to destroy law and order." What Mr. Jinnah had in his mind when he denigrated *Quit Kashmir Movement* was expressly stated by him on June 17, 1947:

"Constitutionally and legally the Indian states will be independent sovereign states on the termination of the paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to

adopt any course they like. It is open to them to join Hindustan Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or decide to remain independent. He never accepted holding plebiscite under Sheikh Abdullah's government. He was mortally afraid of his popularity in Kashmir. For him people of Kashmir were a speck of dust. Instead he supported the Sovereignty of *Maharaja* Hari Singh and expected him to sign the Accession paper for him. What moral right has Pakistan to shed crocodile tears for the people of Kashmir now. The bird has already flown.

Jinnah Recants at the End

“Pakistan was the Greatest Blunder of My Life”

A versatile barrister and an astute and shrewd leader as he was, Mohammad Ali Jinnah enacted a drama on the stage of the Indian Sub-continent which brought human tragedy of the dimensions unknown in history. Millions had to lose home and hearth and scores of thousands of people were butchered mercilessly by the mad fury unleashed by him. He brandished a magical weapon of cut and divide known as *Two Nation Theory* and gave discourses which poisoned Muslims against Hindus snowballing into an endless process of action and reaction leading to the martyrdom of Gandhiji as if on a Crucifix. He used *Two Nation Theory* to the hilt with the only perspective of establishing an identity of Muslims in the shape of what came into actual existence as a separate state named Pakistan. For that matter he was an ace actor and played his role meticulously well to achieve his objective. Otherwise he was highly liberal and secular in his thoughts. This is what he spoke to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in his first address, on August 11, 1947:

“...You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion caste or creed that has nothing to do with business of the state. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting

on this fundamental principle that we are citizens and equal citizens of one state. Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in the course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is personal faith of each individual, but in political sense as the citizens of the state."

Every one of his friends and colleagues listening to the speech was stunned. It was a complete repudiation of his *Two Nation Theory* which he preached till yesterday. Mr. Dangles the Publicity Chief of Pakistan supported by other leaders of the Muslim League decided to black out this portion of his speech. But the editor of *The Dawn* who was present disagreed with them and in fact threatened that he would bring it to the notice of Mr. Jinnah. Most of the news papers of Pakistan did not publish this portion of his speech.

The change in Mr. Jinnah was not sudden. He had a history behind him. When Muslim League was born in 1906 he was already a member of Indian National Congress and worked as the secretary to Dadabai Naroji in the Congress session held at Bombay that year. He rejected the offer to join Muslim League. In fact he treated the demand of Muslim League for a separate electorate with contempt and described it poisonous. He opposed the partition of Bengal which had the mal intent of dividing Hindus and Muslims. Although he was a Muslim leader in Congress, yet he had the courage to vote against Gandhiji's resolution on Khilafat Movement. He had a rationale behind it. He believed that mixing religion with politics was dangerous and he abhorred hymn-chanting politics of Gandhiji. He could not put up with this kind of politics. So one day, in the year 1920 when a meeting presided over by Gandhiji was to be addressed, among many other speakers, by Mr. Jinnah in one of the halls of Lucknow University, he addressed Gandhiji as Mr. Gandhi and not Mahatma Gandhi. He was asked repeatedly to address him as Mahatma Gandhi but he refused to do so and left the hall for good. Then he never returned.

Even after joining Muslim League, he did not support the idea of a separate state for Muslims. In 1930, he represented Muslim League in the *Round Table Conference* at London. In this Conference he presented a 14 point programme for the Muslims of India. British Intelligence at this moment managed to moot an idea of a separate state for the Muslims of India through an unknown student of Cambridge University, Mr. Rehmat Ali who also made an appeal to the Muslim leaders taking part in *Round Table Conference* to raise the issue there. Mohammad Ali Jinnah described this man as irresponsible person and his idea a 'crazy scheme'. To lend credibility to this idea, which looked only loud thinking then, the British made it a subject of official discussion in a meeting of The *Joint Select Committee* of the British parliament.

Muslim League made a formal demand for a separate state for Muslims when they passed the Lahore resolution in 1940. Hindu extremists in our country had been harbouring the idea of Hindus and Muslims being two separate nations still earlier. Vir Svarkar presiding over the annual session of Hindu Maha Sabha in 1937 had made following assertion, "India can not be assumed today to be a Unitarian and homogeneous nation but on the contrary there are two nations, in the main, the Hindus and the Muslims."

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was not a fanatic Muslim. He lived like a English man. He did not know Urdu and talked in English. He drank regularly and ate even pork. He did not know as many verses of *Quran* as Gandhiji. Jinnah called some of the ideas of Gandhi ji as philosophical absurdities. He believed "that Hindu-Muslim unity was possible and advisable." Sarojini Naidu called him "the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity." In 1944 Ahrar Party offered him support provided he promised founding of Pakistan on Islamic principle. He was not ready to give such an assurance. Again, once when he was welcomed by a big procession of peasants in a small town with the slogan, '*Maulana* Mohammad Ali Jinnah *Zindabad*' Jinnah felt angry and told them that he is not their religious leader but a political leader. They should desist from such slogans in future.

Mr. Jinnah wanted to develop Pakistan of his own ideas. What he saw actually developing was detestable. He could not reconcile with it. It was his own fault. He had unleashed communal forces to the extent which he could not bring under his complete grip. What finally disappointed him was the debacle which he had to face in his Kashmir policy. He had thought that Kashmir was in his pocket and was so sure about it that when the Pakistani invaders were knocking at the gates of the city of Srinagar, Mr. Jinnah had left Karachi and arrived at Abbotabad to be ready to enter into Kashmir with triumph. But that was not to be. What caused this historic failure, has been put by his own Private Secretary Mr. K.H. Khurshid in his book '*Memoirs of Jinnah*' in these words, "Tribal invasion was a criminal folly which sealed the fate of Kashmir".

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a tragic hero. He preached *Two Nation Theory* to the hilt. But what he preached recoiled on him. He had to go through the painful process of nemesis. He died a disappointed person. When he was on his death bed he told his doctor, "Pakistan was the greatest blunder of my life".

Jammu and Kashmir Elections: Ballot Prevails Over Bullet

The recent elections in Jammu and Kashmir State have been the focus of conspicuous international attention. Like other states of India the elections in this State were due under constitutional obligations. The only difference with the other States of India is that such elections take place only after five years, while these are held after every six years in this State. The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution, among whom one was the unchallengeable leader of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself, had after detailed deliberations, granted a special status to Kashmir within Indian federal structure under Article 370. The State had been given the right to elect a Constituent Assembly to draw the constitution of the State, which would, among other things, define their working relationship with the central government. It was also to confirm the accession of Kashmir to India which had earlier been made after signing the *Instrument of Accession* by Maharaja Hari Singh on one part and the Governor General of India on the other, as was required under the *Indian Independence Act 1947* of the British Parliament. It is the State Constitution which provides six years term for the Legislative Assembly.

What made these elections very important was the assurance given by the Prime Minister of India that the elections would be free and fair. A wrong perception, that elections in Kashmir were always rigged in the past had created an impression that the people of Kashmir are deprived of the democratic choice for seeking a dispensation of their liking. The fact is that all the elections in

Kashmir in the past were not rigged. The political parties which used to take part in elections supported Kashmir's accession to India. There were no dissenting political parties notwithstanding the fact that there existed the remnants of Muslim Conference which was led by religious leaders and whose influence was confined to a small area of the city of Srinagar. Even they tried to send one or two representatives to the Assembly by proxy. There did not exist any strong motivation for the manipulation of election results by rigging for which India was defamed by its adversaries. Of course the Plebiscite Front, which was later dissolved, used to call for a boycott of the elections. The people still took part in elections in a big way. Kashmir did not have the practice of capturing booths at the point of a gun nor did they employ criminal gangs for the job, as is the case in some other States of India. There, no doubt, used to be complaints of impersonation or minor irregularities which are common to all elections, but these were looked into by the Election Commission of India. What gave bad name to India was one election which was held in 1987 when the Muslim United Front (MUF), an amalgam of some obscurantist political groups, contested the elections. They would, as was apparent, win some seats from Kashmir valley and deprive National Conference, the party in power, of absolute majority from Kashmir valley itself although such a majority was assured to it in the State as a whole which included Jammu and Ladakh divisions also. To achieve this narrow objective, the leader of the party Farooq Abdullah is alleged to have resorted to rigging in a number of constituencies. That led to a revolt among the young contestants belonging to the MUF. The Election Commission of India did try to remedy the damage caused, but it did not convince the youngmen. What was interesting to note that these young men were fighting elections under an oath to the Indian Constitution. It was against this background that the Prime Minister of India assured free and fair elections.

Elections in all the States of India are held under the jurisdiction of Election Commission of India which is an independent statutory body well known all over the world for its

integrity and fairness. So it finalised the dates for elections in the State. Jammu and Kashmir State is a vast area spreading from the Karakoram ranges of mountains in the north and river Ravi in the south, Pakistan and Pak-occupied Kashmir from the west and the Tibet and Chinese-occupied Kashmir from the east and north-east. Part of the State has tropical climate and some part having extreme cold climate. Elections in such a vast area with diverse topography could not be possible in one go. It was conducted districtwise in four phases:

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of the Districts</i>	<i>No. of Constituencies</i>
I	16 September 2002	Kupwara, Baramulla, Poonch, Rajouri and Kargil	26
II	24 September 2002	Srinagar, Badgam and Jammu	28
III	1 October 2002	Pulwama, Anantnag, Kathua and Anantnag	27
IV	8 October 2002	Doda	6
Total			87

Holding free and fair elections in an abnormal situation as the one prevailing in Kashmir, was a daunting job for the Election Commission of India. It mustered the courage and caught the bull by horns. After the die was cast, the voters were to be assured that elections would be fair and free. For the absolute fairness of elections following steps were taken:

1. Introducing 8000 electronic voting machines for the first time, thus eliminating any chance of rigging or bogus voting;
2. Arranging 50 per cent of polling staff from other States of India and inducting them into the polling booths so that there could be no cause for apprehension of any fiddling with the electoral process by the public servants belonging to the Government held by the party fighting elections. Such a step would also make it difficult for the other set of employees (locals) to act in a way which could be prejudicial to the fair conduct of elections.

In spite of so much of caution, exercised by the Election Commission, there were dare-devils who wanted to force their way, but they were removed on mere suspicion. Some of the polling staff in Kupwara district was changed on the orders of Election Commission for complaints against them. Even big officers who were not confined to polling booths, were removed. Two Deputy Commissioners in the capacities of Deputy Returning Officers were changed on complaints. Even the Superintendent of Police of Kupwara was shifted for acting in a manner favouring the ruling party. Many other police officers were shifted from the places of their postings for similar behaviour. SOG and STF were removed from Anantnag and Pulwama districts during the period of polling. Subsequently such an action was taken in all the districts;

3. for imparting credibility and transparency to the promised four phased election process, the Commission allowed foreign diplomats and journalists to visit Jammu and Kashmir State and judge things for themselves. They could visit any constituency, and election booth and enquire things directly from the voters. Twenty eight passes were issued to diplomatic missions. On September 16, 2002, 13 diplomats and journalists, went by helicopter from Srinagar airport to Gurez located in a remote mountainous valley near the *Line of Control*, a town of Bandipore on the bank of famous *Wular Lake* and highly terrorist infested town of Kupwara. In Kupwara, they went to places of their choice to see how elections were conducted. The other team landed at Uri—the town upto which the Indian Army had chased the Pakistani invaders in 1947 and beyond which Kashmir territory continues to be under the illegal occupation of Pakistan. Here they watched people exercising their democratic choice with full gusto. The team included diplomats from US, UK, France, Germany, Switzerland,

Denmark and Canada. Rest of the diplomats were to visit other places to observe the other phases of elections. While the foreign diplomats were given free hand, the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, tried to make suggestions, for permitting independent observers and releasing the political prisoners thereby intruding into the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India. Chief Election Commissioner, Lyngdoh reacted sharply, "the day of the whiteman observing what the native does, is long past. He cannot determine what the coloured man does and whether he is doing it right or wrong." No body could have made suggestions to him. Not even the Prime Minister of India;

4. show of guns in electioneering or demonstrating violence or force could be the very antithesis of fair elections. Therefore, it was ordered that no person except the security forces on duty would be allowed to carry gun along with him. Even the Ikhwanis (anti-insurgency force formed from amongst the surrendered militants) were not allowed to carry guns during election period. There were complaints made by people and political parties against this force. Election Commission suggested to put them into barracks. This way they were emasculated;
5. deputing men of great honesty and integrity for observing elections and reporting to the Election Commission about any misconduct or non-compliance of the orders, instructions, guidelines or the violation of election rules. Also, they were to communicate their observations in cases of disputes over the fair conduct of elections among the political parties; and
6. following strictly the rules and regulations which already exist for the conduct of elections.

After taking steps for ensuring free and fair elections, the Election Commission of India sought to provide conditions in which a voter could be allowed to vote freely in an atmosphere of peace and in which his life could not be a target of the gun of a

terrorist outfit. To meet this important objective, he made elaborate arrangements including requisitioning of additional security forces from other parts of the country.

Already various terrorist outfits based in Pakistan had warned people against participating in the elections. General Musharraf gave the signal on August 14, 2002 by an open denunciation of poll process in Jammu and Kashmir State.¹ His Government described the elections unlawful.² Former Chief of the *Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI)*, Hamid Gul organised a meeting of all the separatist groups on August 21, 2002 in Islamabad, for a joint policy on Kashmir³ with the intent of making poll process in J&K State a complete failure. By the end of August 2002 it became crystal clear on the basis of the interception of messages by the Indian Army, that the *ISI* had directed the terrorist outfits particularly *Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM)* and *Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT)* to disrupt elections in Jammu and Kashmir State.⁴ Not only this, Pak *ISI* even formed a unified militant command namely *Kashmir Liberation Army*, comprising of militants of banned outfits, *LeT* and *JeM* headed by Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar (*Latram*). *Latram* is the man who was released from the Kotbalwal jail, Jammu in exchange of passengers in the Indian Airlines plane that was hijacked to Kandahar. Zargar was directed to organise disruption of elections at all costs and manage to keep *Hurriyat* out of elections.⁵ In any case Pakistan did not want elections to take place during this period for that would affect Musharraf-brand of elections in Pakistan. However, international community wanted the separatists to participate in elections.⁶

Accordingly the Pakistan supported terrorist organisations operating in the Kashmir valley issued various fiats and injunctions to Muslim community asking them to desist from participating in elections. A leading Urdu daily from Kashmir valley reported on August 23, 2002 that, "*Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen* issued a *Fatwa* that those who were consolidating Indian rule in Kashmir had no right to ask for people's vote. As per *Sharia* the Muslims are the custodians of votes in Kashmir and they should not misuse it."⁷ Earlier *Nida-e-Mashriq* on August 21, 2002 had reported that the

Chief of the *Dukhtaran-i-Milat* (a women's wing of *Jamaat-i-Islami* of Kashmir), Ayesha Andrabi had issued an injunction that militants were justified in targeting National Conference workers as the latter were against the *Jehad*.⁸ And on August 31, 2002 this self-styled leader of Kashmir women, went all out to threaten all the secular minded politicians to ally with *Jehad* and save their lives hereafter.⁹ In the last week of August 2002 LeT Divisional Commander for central Kashmir, Billah, warned, "Democracy is a *kufur* and LeT (*Lashkar-e-Toiba*) declares war against the champions of democracy. A Muslim holds that Allah's rule should prevail upon the entire universe."¹⁰ In mid-September 2002, Chief of the *Hizbul Mujahideen*, Salah-ud-Din (Yusuf Shah) announced a reward of Rs. 1,00,000 for eliminating a candidate in each of the constituencies."¹¹

All J&K *Hurriyat Conference*, which boasted of its representative character, feeling frustrated, started a campaign for public contacts at the end of August 2002. It addressed religious gatherings in various mosques asking people to boycott elections.¹² In fact right from September 11, 2002 various terrorist outfits had put up posters threatening the electorate with the words:¹³

*"Jo vote dalega,
Woh goli khayega."*

(one who would cast a vote, would receive a bullet).

All these fiats and diktats led to an orgy of killings and violence. In the month of August 2002 only 320 people were killed.¹⁴ An independent candidate, Shaikh Abdul Rahman and then the Deputy Minister Mushtaq Ahmed Lone were gunned down. Three attempts were made to kill Sakina Ittoo, Tourism Minister, who was the candidate for the second time. "Lone was addressing an election meeting at Tekipora on September 11 when a militant opened fire from among the group of women sitting 20 feet from the podium."¹⁵ Two terrorist groups *Al Badr* and *Al Arfeen* claimed responsibility for his killing. Later in the day, terrorists fired indiscriminately at a crowded election meeting at Suran Kot in Poonch killing 12 innocent persons.¹⁶

First phase of elections was to take place on September 16 and the situation was dangerously fluid. It was to be held in 26 constituencies of the districts of Kupwara, Baramulla, Poonch, Rajouri and Kargil. Day in and day out came the reports of death and destruction all around. People were caught between the deep sea and the devil. 'To be or not to be, that is the question' haunted the people. The choice was limited, ballot or bullet? They had been expressly warned that if they went to the polling booth, they were sure to receive a bullet. And if they did not, they would miss the golden opportunity—an opportunity of restoring the normal life and planning the future of their choice. So they decided to come out of the dilemma and cast the vote, whatever the cost.

So wrote the most popular English daily of J&K State, 'The five districts that went to polls in the first phase covered almost the whole of the *Line of Control* in the State from Nowshera to Kargil. As if to prove this fact, and their of obsession with bullets, the Pak Army kept up the cross-border barrage of shelling, while the ballot minded people of the State went to reject their bullets with calm punching of the buttons on the Electronic Voter Machines. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the voting in the areas that are the closest to the *Line of Control* witnessed heavy polling. The 75 per cent poll in Kargil is followed by 76 per cent turnout in Gurez, 67 per cent in Karnah in Kashmir and an average 50 per cent voting in Rajouri and Poonch districts of Jammu region."¹⁷

The turn out of the first phase of polling was surprisingly 47.25 per cent. Indeed, people had decided to exercise their choice for a peaceful life and rejected the concept of stifling the voice with the barrel of a gun. Terrorism had been rejected lock, stock and barrel. The turn out could have been still on the higher side but for some pockets of *Hurriyat Conference* influence in towns, especially Sopore, where the turn out was only 7.8 per cent, Baramulla 24.6 per cent and Bandipore 31.2 per cent. Barring these pockets, the *Hurriyat* was ripped naked by the people of Kashmir. "The desperation of *Hurriyat* became stark when the United States of America described the polls (first phase) credible and fair."¹⁸

The political parties contesting the elections were All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Indian National Congress, People's Democratic Party, Bhartiya Janata Party, CPI(M), Panthers Party and Bahujan Samaj Party. Many independent candidates had also joined the fray. Total number of candidates was 709 and the number of seats was only 87. Election to one constituency was countermanded in the first phase due to the death of one candidate, Mushtaq Ahmed Lone.

National Conference was the party in power. It had a very important role during the freedom struggle—spearheading a double edged battle both against the monarchy in Kashmir and British colonial rule in India of which Kashmir was one of the States. The architect of this organisation was Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who was given the title of Lion of Kashmir by the people of the State. He was instrumental in demolishing the age old feudal order and the monarchy presiding over this order. Indian National Congress is an all India party which had fought for the independence of India under the able leadership of Gandhi, Nehru and other towering leaders. Congress had held power in Kashmir for 22 years under different names. Bhartiya Janata Party is the party holding power in India in coalition with about 22 political parties and groups. CPI(M) is the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which has a unit in J&K State. People's Democratic Party is a new political party having emerged during the period of terrorism in Kashmir.

All the parties were encouraged to see the response of the people, though fighting under difficult conditions. As the most popular Urdu Daily of Kashmir *Aftab* put it, "Perhaps it was due to Election Commission's efforts in ensuring fairness of elections that more people of the rural areas came out to vote."¹⁹

To scare away people from taking part in the second phase of elections on September 24, various terrorist outfits stepped up their activities. They, "targetted the houses of two candidates, a designated polling station and security patrols and convoys, killing two security men and wounding 25 of BSF personnel."²⁰ They did not spare even the editor of *Srinagar Times*, Ghulam

Mohammad Sofi who was shot at and injured at Buchwara because he did not follow their diktat.²¹

Inspite of what was being perpetrated "... one was witness to great enthusiasm among the electorate in the rural areas as there were long queues outside polling booths and at many places, first-time voters were struggling to get inside to exercise their franchise... people defied the militants and the boycott call of *All Party Hurriyat Conference* to come and vote for change in government."²²

Though Pakistan did its best by way of sending huge finances, mercenaries, religious appeals and fiats, media propaganda, political and diplomatic moves and directions to various terrorist outfits for derailing the electoral process, it could not prevent the people from voting in the second phase. There was 42 per cent turn out in the three districts of Srinagar, Badgam and Jammu. Badgam district registered a turn out of 51 per cent. In Chrar-i-Sharifi it was 59 per cent, Kangan witnessed 50 per cent and Ganderbal 40 per cent turnout.²³ The lowest turn out was in the city of Srinagar. Eight urban segments of Srinagar polled between zero and two percent votes, Srinagar city has a large section of educated people who are not ready to take risks and it is in the city of Srinagar that *Awami Action Committee* which is the part of *All Party Hurriyat Conference*, has strong pockets of influence who responded to the boycott call. But, undoubtedly, all the rural areas of Srinagar district rejected the call for boycott. There was 42.60 per cent turn out. The electoral exercise was so much convincing that even the US Ambassador to India, Robert Blackwill praised the Election Commission. He told the press, "we respect the role of the Election Commission of India."²⁴

When the election to 54 constituencies out of a total of 87 had been completed with good turn out, *Daily Excelsior* wrote it editorially. "...local leaders and parties expressed unqualified satisfaction with the election process and declared them to be free and fair... *Hurriyat* then had let the elections proceed, with a mere boycott call... people rejected that call and its rationale and came out to vote in heavy numbers."²⁵ Commenting on the terrorist attacks, a local newspaper *Daily Uqab* commented: "Despite

unprecedented security arrangements, militants attacked various polling booths and other places in order to sabotage elections. The reign of terror was established in south Kashmir. Though huge number of voters came out of their own."²⁶

Interestingly the fourth phase of elections in the Doda district having six constituencies recorded 50 per cent turn out which was the highest when compared to the previous three phases. Doda is the district with very difficult terrain, all hilly and infested with terrorist brigands and is near the *Line of Control*. This district was supposed to be a fertile ground for terrorist activities because of its topography and composition of population in which Muslims are in majority. Perpetrators of Islamists' *Jehad* across the border received a slap with such a large turn out in this belt. Pakistan had, therefore, no choice except to launch a campaign of disinformation about the elections in Kashmir so that Musharraf's own brand of elections could not get affected adversely. They spoke such lies over their electronic media which disillusioned even their sympathisers in Kashmir. The *Kashmir Opinion* summed up the reaction of Kashmir in these words:

"Pakistan has become so much nervous that it has started speaking such lies as have made people of Kashmir to make it an object of ridicule. Pakistan's drum beating about forcing people out of their houses to cast vote in the Lolab Constituency, has disillusioned the people. The brute fact was that in the Lolab valley there were no elections because of the cold blooded murder of Law Minister, Mushtaq Aahmed Lone which led to the countermanding of elections in that constituency. But Pakistan's military junta has been made that way. They cannot help. Pakistan's Army after assuming power, by dismissing democratically elected Government, usurped the power of judiciary, legislature and the executive and proposed to enact the drama of conducting elections in Pakistan. Interestingly Musharraf has already amended the constitution of Pakistan to empower him to disband the Parliament at his sweet will."²⁷

European Union Parliamentary delegation endorsed the ongoing elections in Jammu and Kashmir State describing them as, "fair and proper"... "we have got information from all sides - Government, independent Indian institutions and our own diplomats. We know this (polling) is going on under proper conditions."²⁸ The leader of the delegation, Crespo remarked about the poll body, "we do not doubt the fair and proper way of holding elections in India." The *Daily Excelsior* commenting editorially wrote, "... that while the joint team of British and United States High Commissions expressed its satisfaction in the conduct of elections in Jammu and Kashmir State and especially in the border belt of R.S. Pora and Suchetgarh of Jammu district, the voters at the polling stations closer to the Indo-Pak border showed some extraordinary courage and enthusiasm as they participated in large numbers to exercise their franchise even at the hyper sensitive polling stations, ignoring the fear of Pak firing in the second phase of Assembly elections."²⁹ At many polling booths falling within the range of Pakistani firing, voters went under cover when the enemy guns zoomed and appeared once again to cast their votes when the firing stopped. People had a strong will to exercise their option by casting their ballots. The ballot prevailed over the bullet. That was the story told by an eye witness.

The results of elections confirmed the fact that these were free and fair. Following was the final party position:

Sl. No.	Name of the Party	No. of Seats Won
1.	National Conference	28
2.	Indian National Congress	20
3.	People's Democratic Front	16
4.	CPI (M)	2
5.	Panthers Party	4
6.	Bhartiya Janata Party	1
7.	Bahujan Samaj Party	1
8.	Independents	15
Total		87

The results show that the party that had played a historic role in Kashmir (National Conference) and which was in power was

badly mauled, so much so that it could not even attempt to form the government. Nor did it receive the support from any other political party or group to do so. Even the independents did not support National Conference. So much had the anti-incumbency feelings gripped the people. Terrorist violence had badly bruised them. Normal life had become impossible. Schools and hospitals had been torched, vital bridges damaged and destroyed. Total infrastructure was battered. The terrorist brigands from across the border had reduced Kashmir to a graveyard. The gullible who had been made to believe that *Azadi* was round the corner were completely disillusioned. They wanted an escape route which was provided by the free and fair elections. People wanted to get rid of what they believed, a scourge of God on the land of *Reshis* (a *Reshwar*). They wanted a government which could restore their normal life, as they rejected the path of terrorism as a means of solving their problems. Violence was alien to them. They wanted a government which could give them healing touch and extricate them from the grip of terrorism fast held by unwanted cross-border terrorists financed and armed by Pakistan. Having tasted it for last so many years, they wanted an effortless riddance. Elections provided the golden opportunity and they made best of it.

There were political parties which were ready to give an alternative to the people. These parties were the Indian National Congress, the People's Democratic Party, CPI (M) and Panthers Party. They had already committed on certain vital questions in their respective election manifestoes which did inspire some hope among the people. A big chunk of independents also thought on similar lines. So when the day of reckoning arrived, people were determined to defeat the path of destruction which the anti-people forces had laid down in the form of boycott to the elections. They mustered the courage to face the threatened terrorist shoot-outs at the polling booths and voted for the dawn of new life which would lead them to peaceful life, economic prosperity and cultural advancement. But none of the political parties had an absolute majority to form a government. Yet the compulsions of the situation and near similarity in their views brought the two major parties, Indian National Congress and People's Democratic Party, together

to work under a *Common Minimum Programme* and form the government. All other political parties and independents supported the new formation and its *Common Minimum Programme* and became the part of the new dispensation in Kashmir. So called *Hurriyat Conference* stood isolated and rejected by the verdict of the people.

The main features of the *Common Minimum Programme* are:³⁰

1. to heal the physical, psychological and emotional wounds inflicted by fourteen years of militancy, to restore rule of law, to revive political process by requesting Government of India to initiate wide ranging consultations and dialogue, without conditions, with the members of the legislature and other segments of public opinion in all the three regions of the State,
2. to ensure safety of lives and properties and restoring dignity and honour of all persons in the State. Encourage those young men from the State who have resorted to militancy, to return to their families and the mainstream and ensuring them security and justice under law. To ensure Government of India, the cooperation of the State Government in combating cross-border terrorism originating from Pakistan.

To achieve these objectives the government declared that it shall:

3. review all cases of detainees held without trial for long periods; release detainees held on non-specific charges for which the period of due punishment has already exceeded while in jails,
4. review the operation of all such laws as deprive people of their basic rights of life and liberty for a long period of time without due legal process. Some special powers may need to be retained but operated carefully and sparingly,
5. investigate all custodial killings and violation of human rights,
6. strengthen *Human Rights Commission*,

7. formulate a comprehensive relief and rehabilitation package for those families affected by militant violence,
8. implement special schemes to rehabilitate former militants who have forsworn violence and rejoined mainstream,
9. reach out to the children, widows and the parents of the deceased militants,
10. take all necessary steps to ensure the safety of Kashmiri Pandits and devise effective measures for their rehabilitation and employment. The government will seek the cooperation of all elements in the society to create an atmosphere conducive to their safe return. The return of Kashmiri Pandits to their motherland is an essential ingredient of *Kashmiriat*,
11. construct permanent shelters in vulnerable areas for persons living close to *Line of Control* to prevent loss of life,
12. rid the State administration of corruption and nepotism,
13. establish *Ehtisal* for inquiring into complaints received against the Chief Minister, State Ministers and Legislators,
14. revoke/not implement *POTA*, enough laws being in existence for dealing with militancy,
15. press for inclusion of *Dogri* in the 8th schedule of the Indian Constitution,
16. grant full powers to *Autonomous Hill Development Council* of Leh and persuade Kargil to accept such a Council,
17. prepare employment oriented development plans, for agriculture, horticulture, handicrafts, tourism, information technology, food processing and environment friendly industrial activity,
18. give due consideration to *Wazir Commission*,
19. constitute *Delimitation Commission*,
20. develop power resources of the State and request the central government to ensure availability of power to maximum extent,
21. give special emphasis to safe drinking water, sanitation,

- rural roads, primary health care and elementary education,
22. plan for environment friendly tourism,
 23. give adequate functional autonomy and financial support to *Panchayati Raj* institutions,
 24. design special welfare programmes for women,
 25. promote welfare programmes for backward classes including *Gujars*, *Bakarwals* and Schedule Castes and tribes, and
 26. constitute *Minority Commission* to look after the interests of minority communities,

To what extent will the new government be able to achieve its objectives, is yet to be seen. But one thing is glaringly clear that Pakistan wanted to sabotage elections as they apprehended the verdict of the people to go against them which would vindicate the Indian stand on Kashmir. All along they have been trying to grab Kashmir by force. They attacked Kashmir first in October 1947 when it had not as yet formally acceded to India. That way, they trampled the aspirations of the people of Kashmir under their jackboots. The recent assembly elections in Kashmir have vindicated Indian position on Kashmir, and demonstrated the faith of people of Jammu and Kashmir in the democratic process and democratic institutions like the *Election Commission of India*. India has once again redeemed its pledge and in full measure.

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Misconceived Perceptions About Kashmir

There can be no denying the fact that Indian press-commentators have established their name for objectivity and fairness. But in case of Kashmir they appear to have dragged their feet. For instance much has been made out of what they call an unfair deal given to the people of Kashmir from 1947.

History can be forgotten, not effaced. Not in too distant a past, in 1945, in a historic session of the National Conference at Sopore, a resolution on right of self-determination for the nationalities was passed. Kashmir was the first Princely State to do so. Pt. Nehru, Maulana Azad, Khan Abdul Samad Khan and young Indira Gandhi took part in the deliberations.

Right of self-determination is not just a slogan. It entails passing of political and economic power to the people. People of Kashmir had a long history of feudal dispensation. National Conference had taken the challenge of delivering the people from this unjust scheme of things.

After the defeat of fascism in the Second World War, Labour Party which had come to power in Britain, wanted to settle the question of granting independence to India. Various missions were sent to the Indian Sub-Continent to work out a detailed constitutional frame-work for transferring power. When the Cabinet Mission visited Kashmir in March 1946, National Conference presented them a memorandum challenging the *Treaty of Amritsar*. According to this *Treaty*, the memorandum asserted, the people of Kashmir, the land and its potential wealth were sold away to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the agents of the *East India*

Company for a consideration of Rs. 75 lakhs. Since then it had 'been a document of their bondage.'

What followed was '*Quit Kashmir Movement*.' It demanded the annulment of the *Treaty* and the vacation of the rule of *Dogra House* from the state. Sheikh Sahib was arrested and charged for sedition. Reign of terror was let loose over the people. Pt. Nehru was arrested at Kohala. Even Gandhiji declared the '*TREATY*' as a sale deed.

While Kashmir was fighting a life and death struggle for the right of self-determination, Mr. Jinah came out with an open support for *Maharaja* Hari Singh and his sovereignty over the people of the State. He described the *Quit Kashmir Movement* "... an agitation of a few malcontents to destroy law, and order.'

Not before too long, the partition of the country had become a reality. It had put the National Conference leadership in a dilemma. Sheikh Sahib deputed Mr. G.M. Sadiq to Pakistan for seeking assurance from the leaders of the Muslim League for an autonomous status for Kashmir, if they decided to accede to Pakistan. But this demand of the National Conference was rejected with contempt.

By that time Mr. Jinah had organised an attack on Kashmir by *Pathan* invaders followed by regular Pakistan army. People of Kashmir, under the leadership of Sheri-Kashmir resisted the attack. The great *Shirwani* was crucified by Pakistani brigands.

Smacking total failure of his game-plan, Mr. Jinah invited Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel and Lord Mountbatten to Lahore in the month of November 1948 for a meeting over the developments in Kashmir. Nehru was indisposed and Patel did not like to participate. So Mountbatten went alone. While deliberating on the question, Mountbatten suggested that the question be settled by means of a plebiscite under the auspices of United Nations Organisation. Mr. Jinah promptly rejected the offer and instead suggested that it be held under him and his counterpart (Lord Mountbatten).

Even UNICP resolution of August 13, 1948 which had made the provision of Plebiscite was defied by Pakistan by not vacating the aggression from Kashmir.

With the defeat of Pakistani hordes, the struggle of the people for right of self-determination reached a logical conclusion. Political power was transferred to the people by appointing Sheikh Sahib as Head of the Govt. But the *Jagirdars* and the owners of big landed estates continued to sway the land.

Out of a total cultivated land in the State 2, 91, 689 acres were held under *jagirs*. Majority of these *Jagirs* were granted to Jammu Rajputs. Even *Maharaja* Hari Singh granted 10 *Jagirs* in 1926-27. Out of these 6 were granted to Jammu Rajputs from Kashmir valley.

About 9000 big land holders owned among themselves 8 lakh acres of land (except those who held less than 27.75 acres). In Kashmir Valley 1,52,924 *Kanals* of land were owned by only 13 families. But of these 6 families belonged to Jammu Rajputs, 4 to Kashmir Muslims, 2 to Kashmiri Pandits and 1 to non-resident Kashmiri Hindu. That Kashmiri Pandits were big landlords is a misplaced perception.

To begin with, Sheikh Sahib in his first broadcast from Radio Jammu, as the Head of the Emergency Administration in 1948, made a declaration of the abolition of *Jagirdari*, stay on ejectments and moratorium on commercial debts. And on 13th July, 1950 he decreed that such persons or institutions as were in the proprietorship of land more than one thousand *Kanals* (125 acres) shall forfeit such land to tillers without any compensation and that the order shall have effect from that very day and the tillers would be owners of the next '*Kharif*' Crop.

With the passing of *Distress Debtors Relief Act*, 1949, the peasantry was relieved from the burden of age-old indebtedness in a record period of time.

It was a bloodless revolution, brought with a stroke of pen. The monarchy was abolished, the age-old feudal order done away with and the debt of the destitute peasantry settled. Thus the political and economic power was passed on to the people without firing a single shot. Could there be any better way of exercising the right of self determination?

W.R. Lawrence, the '*Messiah*' of Kashmir peasantry, who took

up the land settlement in 1889, described the condition of the cultivators, "Infinitely worse than the Tiers Estate (Third Estate) before the French Revolution." To-day he has neither to work on *Agraharas*, nor on the landed estates of the *Damaras*, the *Magreys*, the *Sayids*, the *Kanth*s and the *Rajputs* but on his own land. He is no more chased for hateful exactions nor is he taken on 'Begaar'. He has made so much progress with the help of Govt. inputs, that the incidence of rural poverty in Kashmir has come down to 30.57 per cent (1978) while it is 67.07 in Orissa, 60-85 in Madhya Pradesh, 59.50 in Maharashtra, 57.40 in West Bengal, 56.83 in Bihar, 55.43 in Tamil Nadu and 48.85 in U.P. Is this the raw deal given to the people of Kashmir?

Exports of Kashmir's famous handicrafts which had reached a level of Rs. 7.50 crores at the end of the 4th Five Year Plan reached Rs. 39.92 Crores at the beginning of Sixth Plan to end up at Rs. 274 crores in 1994-95. In fact it is the class of *naueveau Riche* which has partly contributed to the present malady in Kashmir.

Perhaps there is no country in the world where education is free from primary to university level. It is so in Kashmir. In 1947 we could count on finger tips the number of graduates and post-graduates in the state. Today, there are thousands of them. Thousands of doctors and engineers passed through the portals of professional colleges. Kashmir did not possess even a university in 1947.

There are apologists who complain that sufficient funds were not made available to Kashmir for development. Can they explain why huge amounts of plan-funds used to be surrendered year after year?

What has ailed our press? What lulled our veteran press-commentators to sleep? Have they lost their memory?

13

The Great Tulamulya or Khir Bhawani

Tulamulya is an ancient *Tirtha* of Kashmir. Its history goes beyond King Jayapida (752 AD) who, himself headed its powerful *Purohita Corporation*¹, which managed its affairs. The sacred Spring of *Tulamulya* symbolizes *Maharagini*, a form of *Durga*. The Spring, which is held in great esteem by Hindus, miraculously changes the colour of its water, which is ascribed to the manifestation of the goddess.

This famous *Tirtha* is located between 74°48' longitude and 34°13' latitude, amidst the marshy land surrounded by the waters of *Chandrabaga* (*Harmukht* – *Ganga* or *Sindh*)² in the *Ganderbal Tehsil* of *Srinagar* district, valley of Kashmir. *Abul-Fazl* also has taken note of this place and its marshy surroundings³.

There are many historically recorded stories connected with this great *Tirtha*. *Kalhana Pandita*, the chronicler, has it⁴ that King Jayapida once wanted to appropriate the land of *Tulamulya*, but had to encounter stiff resistance from *Brahmans*. About ninety-nine *Brahmans* sought death in the stream around the *Tirtha*. The King had to retreat, desisting the confiscation of the *Agraharas*, though the individual inhabitants were dispossessed of their lands.

Similarly, the *Brahmans* of *Tulamulya*, once complained to the same king for having been struck by the door keepers of the *Tirtha* and humiliated by them. They bragged of their super humanly powers. This enraged and provoked the king and he asked them,

“What fear of arrogance is this that you rogues, who live upon beggars crumbs, should like *Risis* speak here words to proclaim your power?”

They all kept mum, but one *Brahman*, *Ittila*, who was a treasure of *Brahminical* dignity replied :

"O King, we are by no means *Rsis*, since we conform, just as you as king, to the (Change of the) *Yugas*, taking (from them) what we are and what we are not."

"Who art thou then? *Visvamitra* perhaps or *Vasistha*, or *Agastya*, a treasure of asceticism?" The King asked the learned *Brahman*. The astute *Brahman*, choking with fury replied :

If you are *Harishchandra*, *Trisanku* or *Nahusa* too, then I singly can be more than *Visvamitra* and other (*Rsis*). The King laughed and replied :

By the anger of *Visvamitra* and other (*Rsis*), *Harishchandra* and the rest perished. What is to happen on account of your wrath?"

Striking the ground the *Brahman* spoke in anger :

"Why should not through my wrath, the staff of *Brahman* fall (upon you) at this very moment;" The King laughed and spoke:

"May that staff of *Brahman* fall ! Why does it tarry even for this one day?"

"Well, surely here it falls, you wretch!"

Within a moment a golden pole broken off from the canopy fell on the King's limb causing a wound which decomposed with inflammation. The wound never got cured and this ultimately led to the death of *Jayapida*, a great king of ancient Kashmir.

The other story⁷ narrated by *Prajya-Bhatta*, the fifth chronicler says, that one powerful noble *Daulat Chak* who was instrumental in deposing *Sultan Nazuk Chak* in 1552, once obstructed the flow of water from the holy rivulet by diverting a part of it to his land where he lived. During the night angry goblins threw heaps of stones at his palace. In order to seek riddance from the anarchic conditions in the Kingdom he went to a pious devotee, *Abhimanyu*, at *Tulamula*, *Abhimanyu* told him:

"Cease by my order, to levy annual tax from *Brahmans* and you will obtain your end."

The Noble disagreeing with him, replied thus :

"....I will even now bestow upon you, the village of *Tulamula*, but how can I, who am *mlecha*, cease by your order, to levy tax from *Brahmans*?"

On hearing such an answer, Abhimanyu, got agitated and cursed him in these words;

“...So far as he was concerned the sun and the moon would fall and sink into the sea”

Due to this curse Daulat *Chak* became bereft of prosperity:

There are many stories woven around this *Tirtha*. The change in colour of the water of the Spring, signals the shadows of the coming events — prosperity, happiness, destruction and gloom. It has been observed that the colour of the water of the Spring was black when Kashmiri Pandit community, as a whole, had to run away from Kashmir under the threat of terrorists' guns. Swami Vivekananda and Swami Ram Tirtha have visited the shrine and have experienced powerful vibrations.

Tulamulya is one of the priceless gifts of the cultural heritage of Kashmiri Pandits. A Kashmiri Pandit living in any corner of the world, must go to *Tulamulya* for *Puja*, when he visits Kashmir. It is always his cherished dream to make a pilgrimage to this great *Tirtha*. The impact of the *Tirtha* on the mind of a Kashmiri Pandit is so deep that he wants to create and recreate its replica in any part of the world.

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Note : Tulamulya is the Shrine and Tulamula is the village.

Genesis of Terrorism in Kashmir

A political change motivated by landed interests, colonial interests, commercial interests, geo-strategic interests or people's interests is something understandable but to resort to stifling of voice at gun-point and taking to killing, kidnapping and torching for dissent is something unique and oblivious. It is precisely this method of political change, which is being used in Kashmir today. The gun-trotters have been drunk deep in distorted *Islamic* ideology, which sustain them for carrying forward, as they call it, the sword of *Islam*. They call it *Jehad* against infidels. The thinking people, if any left in Kashmir feel miserable and suffocated.

Resurgence of Islamic Fundamentalism

Certain strains of *Islam* divide the world into faithfuls and infidels. Those even among *Muslims* who do not meet the stringent tests of doctrinal purity are classified as infidels. A substantial number of victims of *Islamic* terrorism have been *Muslims*. Outside the *Muslim* circle, the main enemies are Westerners. "In the non-*Muslim* world, the main focus of this hatred has been the Western World. *Muslims* have traditionally viewed the west as responsible for the historical containment, humiliation and defeat of *Islam*. The resurgence of *Islamic* fundamentalism in recent decades has given that ancient animus new life and, through terrorism new expression."¹ In those parts of the world in which *Islam* is dominant, say the Middle East, terrorism is more pervasive. Most of the governments in this area have adopted terrorism as an important ingredient of state policy. It should, therefore, surprise no one if the '*terrorist state*' has been fittingly applied to states belonging to this area.

Islam as such is not conducive to terrorism. It shares with all religions moral values, moral standards and moral laws. "Generally speaking, *Muslims* like—*Christians*, *Jews* and the followers of other religions, are against and not for terrorism and share the sense of shock that terrorism evokes. Terrorism of modern kind, directed against bystanders, non-combatants and the innocent, is not *Islamic*. It is as much importation to *Islamic* world as are the bombs and guns which terrorists use."²

There are two reasons for getting *Islam* associated with terrorism. The first is its political character. *Islam's* intimate association with politics differentiates it with other religions. For *Islam* "God is the sole source of sovereignty. God is the head of the state. The state is God's state. The army is God's army. The treasury is God's treasury and enemy, of course, is God's enemy."³ Founder of *Christianity* kissed the cross, *Moses* left the world without being permitted to enter the *Promised Land* but the *Prophet* of *Islam* waged a war, founded a state and governed it himself. He promulgated laws, dispensed justice, collected taxes and raised armies. It was not, therefore, as in case of other religions following only a quest for truth.

The second reason is the assertion of the principles of associating religion with politics even under present day conditions. With urges of times, the traditional ways of *Islam* have undergone change. Change from the age of faith to age of reason has brought all religions of the world under pressure. *Islam* could not have been an exception. Westernisation, modernisation and secularisation had its impact and in many spheres it was thought appropriate to separate politics from religion. *Islamic* fundamentalists want to maintain the doctrinal purity of *Islam*. So, the conflict leading to terrorism.

Violent conflicts as per the *Islamic* history and tradition have two types, one against the external enemy and the other against the internal enemy. This conflict with unbelievers outside the *Islamic* world can either be halted by truces or finally brought to an end with conversions or subjugation. But it is mostly with internal conflicts that terrorism has been applied frequently in

the past or at present. In case of internal conflict, the call is to defend the God's state or conversely to remove the impostor who has usurped the God's state. The watershed was reached in 656 A.D., when the third Caliph of *Islam*, *Usman* was killed. This episode divided the *Muslims* into two groups. One group called the killers as murderers subject to the penalties of laws. The other group called the *Caliph* a usurper and those who killed him were the executors of God's will. The second group was given the name of *Shiites*. They emerged tougher after the assassination of *Ali* in 661 A.D. *Ali* was the son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth *Caliph*. His assassination was highly provoking for them. "—There are two continuing traditions which can be seen in *Islamic* law, thought and history; the quietist tradition, calling for the submission to authority and the activist tradition, often associated with——— *Shiism*.⁴

It is *Shiism*, which was responsible in contributing many extremist groups during the Middle Ages. One such extremist group was of *Assassins*. They were offshoot of the *Ismaili Shiites*, who established *Fatimid Caliphate* in Cairo in 969 AD. *Assassins* were the people who introduced systematically planned form of terrorism for the first time in history. They would direct their terrorism against previously selected targets very efficiently. In the words of an *Ismaili* writer, "by one single warrior on foot, a king may be stricken with terror, though he own more than a hundred thousand horsemen."⁵ *Hasan-i-Sabbah* named his *Assassins* as *Fidias* or *Fidawis*—meaning those who could sacrifice for a cause. Although the terrorism of the *Medieval Assassins* sustained only for a few centuries, yet its thought persisted.

Iran had the tradition of thrusting a faith or belief by brute force from olden times. The enthusiasm shown by *Manicheans* and the *Masdakites* in forcing their faith on others reminds one of the terrorism of *Ismailites* in 12th and 13th centuries, which came to an end with the *Mongol* invasion of Iran in the 13th century. But the religious zeal and fervour of the *Islamic* extremists raised its head once again from 19th century. They resorted to brute force and terrorism. In recent times *Bahai's* like *Zoroastrians* were

subjected to cruel persecution. Between mid-forties and mid-fifties of the 20th century the *Fidayan-i-Islam* indulged in activities reminiscent of *Assassins*. These activities were pursued under the leadership of a Cleric who called himself Nawab Safevi. They assassinated the Prime Minister Razmara and well-known writer Kasravi who held *anti-Islamic* views. After Ayatollah Khomeini succeeded in removing *Shah of Iran*, he exhorted *Musalmans* all over the world to overthrow their rulers who were only usurpers under *Islamic* law. He advocated export of *Islamic* revolution. Thousands of Iranian Revolutionary Guards were sent to Sudan, the gateway of North Africa, to establish training centres and to indoctrinate Sudanese in *Islamic* fundamentalism. In order to help *Islamic Salvation Front* of Algeria, a fundamentalist organisation, about 12 million dollars were deposited in the Faisal Islamic Bank at Khartoum, which was donated by Iran and rich business persons of the Gulf countries.⁶ Hasan-al-Tarabi, the leader of the Sudanese fundamentalist expected Algeria to become second *Islamic* republic of the world. Iranian Revolutionary Guards managed to infiltrate into Lebanon with the connivance of Syrian Government. *Hizbollah*, the radicals of Tehran are looking forward to carry sword of *Islam* to North Africa, which falls within second circle of *Islamic* influence under Khomeini's grand design, the first circle being the countries around the Gulf. They want the people of second circle to shed the African pagan and *Christian* heritage.

The Governments, which supported terrorism openly and actively, were *Libya* of Moamar Gadafi, *Syria* of Hafiz Asad, *Iraq* of Saddam Hussein and *Iran* of Ayatollah Khomeini. The *Hizbollah*, the party of God as they call it, which has settled in Lebanon, is actively supported by Syria and Iran. They use terrorist outfits for raids on Israel. So do the Palestinian *Hamas* and *Islamic Jihad*. Without heeding international concerns, Sudan has been organising, the training, and education in *Islamic* fundamentalism, safe passage or refuge and travel documents for all the *Islamic* terrorist outfits including notorious *Abu Nidal* and *Gamaa-Al-Islamia* of Egypt.

Egyptian terrorists bear a deep-rooted animus against America for having incarcerated their leader Ramzi Ahmed Yusef and their

spiritual leader, a blind man, Sheikh Abdul Rehman in connection with the bombing of World Trade Centre. Before recent East African US Embassy bombings, *Egyptian Jihad* had warned for retaliation for assistance given by USA in extraditing the *Islamic* militants from Albania to Cairo. Before sending these terrorists to home for trial, they warned USA in the following words:

"We inform the Americans of the preparations for a response, which we hope, they read with care, because we will write it, with God's help, in a language they will understand."⁷ In July '98 Ayman-el-Zawahri an important *Jihad* leader told to a Kuwaiti Newspaper, "If America insists on belittling the *Muslim* nation, the only alternative is to declare *Jihad* against America and Israel and *Islamic* movement is now in agreement on the need for such a *Jihad*."⁸

Pan—Islamism

A well-known leader associated, very early (1838-97) with terrorism was Jamal-al-Din-al-Afgani. He was a *Shiite* and one of the founders of *Pan-Islamism*. Afgani was in search of a universal *Khalaphat* and recognised *Ottoman Sultan* as the *Khalipha* of all the *Muslims*. He believed in assassinations and in 1870, he plotted the assassination of Khedive Ismail of Egypt. Afgani also organised the murder of Nasir-al-Din Shah at Constantinople only after two decades.

Generally in Middle East, we do not have nation-states. The authority of a nation-state is rooted in the territory it holds and not the extra-territorial conception of faith and belief. "In most of them, the nation is considered in religious terms and is to encompass people who live beyond and across the territorial boundaries of the individual states."⁹ Obviously, there is a conflict between the nation-states and widespread community of *Muslim* believers. Lebanon and Iran are examples where attempts were made to build modern nation-states, but one collapsed in chaos and the other succumbed to the tyranny of near medieval fundamentalism. The fanatic *Shiite* community of believers in Iran do not recognise any frontiers of nation-states. They want to extend universal truth among their fellow believers across the national frontiers and

establish one nation of *Muslim* believers. To them ruler is the state and has the divine sanction. Rulers of Middle East, have, therefore, indulged in unbridled terrorism against their domestic, regional and international opponents. Libya, for instance, resorted to international terrorism for its despotic policies.

In late 1920's *Hasan-al-Banna* initiated a movement in Egypt, known as *Muslim Brethren*. The movement represented a revolt against the corrupt *Muslim* society, which had been influenced by European godless ideas. He mobilised large number of *Muslim* followers. One of the devout followers of the *Muslim Brethren* was Sayyid Qutb. He preached that, "Sovereignty belonged to God and that existing rulers by disregarding this divine truth, and by claiming to exercise a merely territorial sovereignty, proved themselves to be unbelievers and usurping tyrants."¹⁰ This gave the signal that the ruler of Egypt had no *Islamic* sanction to continue and must be killed. Conspiracy hatched to kill president Sadat in 1974 had the inspiration from this movement. The Brethren spread their tentacles to Syria where they indulged in mass murders of *Baathist* officials and officers. They even attempted to kill Asad in 1980.

Neo-Pan Islamism

Neo-Pan-Islamism was a product of 20th century. Construction of Suez Canal made it easy to bring the fruits of Industrial Revolution along with modern ideas to countries east of Suez Canal. It had an impact on *Islamic* concept of body politic. Along side there developed in Turkey the concept of *Ijtihad*—the precept of independent judgement in religious and legal questions. The Turks advocated the *Muslim* law separating religion from state. They, therefore, rejected the concept of *Caliphate* lock stock and barrel. From India, the great poet Iqbal defended the development in Turkey. Iqbal was of the view that in the given situation, *Islamic* body politic could not sustain as a universal state, nor could it be founded on narrow nationalism. He proposed a multinational free association of *Islam* like a League of Nations. What Iqbal had in mind was the *Islamic* Crescent of Turkey, central Asian Republics,

Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. Taking support from the doctrine of *Ijtihad* and *Pan-Islamic* concept of Al-Afgani, Iqbal, in collaboration with Sayyid Ahmed Khan propounded a separate state for *Muslims* in India. On the other hand the *Islamic* scholar and politician, Maulana Azad also used the same doctrine and advised *Muslim 'Umma'* to integrate with National movement.

Although proliferation of active terrorism connected with *Islamic* fundamentalism is a post-cold war phenomenon, yet American political strategists rooted it in the cold war policy of containing Communism south of Soviet Union. Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan alerted American's beyond limits and they invested all that could be to help *Islamic* fundamentalists by way of money and sophisticated weaponry to launch all out war against Soviet troops. All this was organised by CIA through Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence Organisation. When the symptoms of the collapse of Soviet Union had already started showing, they withdrew their troops from Afghanistan. It let loose the amorphous terrorist-outfits fighting in Afghanistan to take shelter on the mainland of Pakistan. This led to the mushrooming of many Islamist fundamentalist terrorist groups under various names. Pakistan equipped them for *Islamic Jihad* in various countries, besides keeping reserves for sending them to Kashmir. Global terrorism got a big fillip. "Global terrorism has emerged as a post cold war phenomenon when many undercurrents and subterranean forces driven by religious fervour and factional sub-nationalism surfaced with militant vengeance in the aftermath of bi-polarity. Abetted by debris of erstwhile super power rivalry—as in the case of covert US military aid to the Afghan Mujahideen through the Pakistani conduit on one hand and the monetary support made available through the global narcotics network."¹¹

Statistics show that it was during this period that terrorist attacks world over increased substantially. "Pinkerton Risk Assessment of the USA has calculated that terrorist attacks around the world have increased to a record of 5,404 in 1992 up 11 per cent from 1991 and number of persons killed rose above 10,000 for the first time."¹² According to one of the world's leading experts

on terrorism, there have been at least 30 car bomb explosions killing 300 and wounding 800 persons from Feb. 1993 when the World Trade Centre at New York was bombed. It was during this period that Usma-bin-Laden a notorious *Islamist* terrorist leader surfaced into prominence. He was the person who was earlier used by CIA in Afghan operations and today, ironically enough, he is the enemy number one of America and in a process of retribution, paying them back in the same coin. It was he who planned the bombing attacks on American Embassies in East African states. He was instrumental in organising bombing attacks on American military personnel in Somalia in 1993 and Saudi Arabia in 1995 and 1996. He even attempted to assassinate Egyptian President Husni Mubark. Bin-Laden has been the one important source of financing *Islamic* terrorism world over especially Tajikistan, Bosnia and Chechnya. *Lashkar-i-Toiba* has sworn allegiance to him. He belongs to Saudi Arabia, but he has been deprived of Saudi Citizenship. He wanted to overthrow the *un-Islamic* Monarchy in the country. He was given refuge by Hasan Tarabi in Sudan. Now he lives in Afghanistan and directs operations from there. He recruits and trains his Mujahideen in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Pak-Occupied Kashmir. In this state of ferment and volatility in the *Islamic* world, *Islamist* fundamentalist forces looked for leadership to Pakistan, which it was hesitant to give overtly but welcomed covertly. In fact Pakistan Inter Service intelligence (ISI) is actively involved in coordinating the *Islamist Jihad*. According to US Task Force Report on terrorism and conventional warfare, referring to Pakistan's Pan-Islamic designs, quotes Taliban Envoy to Karachi speaking in a seminar in this fashion, "Hence the only way to confront West and ensure the rise of *Ummat-i-Wahidah* (One organic whole the Ummat) as political and economic power, is Pakistan to spearhead and lead the *Islamist Jihad* throughout the region—beginning with control over the great gateway to Asia, that is Afghanistan."

To pursue the goal of establishing *Ummat-i-Wahidah*, ISI had established *Markaz Dawat-ul-Irshad* in Pakistan. The *Markaz* and its *Lashkar-i-Toiba* along with *Hizbul Mujahideen* have joined to

form International *Islamic Front*, Others who have joined the front are *Jamal-ul-Jehad*, *Al-Gamma-al-Islamia* of Egypt and the establishment of Bin-Laden. They advocate *Jehad* against USA and Israel and favour transfer of nuclear and missile technology by Pakistan to other Muslim states. The Markaz has commanders and instructors from *Arab Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen* who come from countries like Algeria, Sudan and Egypt and most of them have more than a decade combat experience in Afghanistan. While addressing a training camp of the *Markaz*, their spiritual leader *Maulvi Zaki* told them that they were destined to fight to liberate "the land of Allah from infidels."

Having been, thus assigned the role of a leader of the *Islamist Jehad*, Pakistan in a very shrewd manner used this opportunity for two important objectives; one to save Pakistan from the hydra-headed monster of terrorism after its disengagement from Afghanistan and the other to create trouble in Kashmir by sending bulk of them across the *Line of Control*.

Pakistan Lies Exposed

Kashmir has been a legacy of partition of India. Whatever the merits of the problem, one thing is so neatly clear that Pakistan invariably attempted to grab Kashmir by force. Even before the accession of Kashmir to India took place in 1947, Pakistan organised an attack by sending *Pathan* raiders but pleaded in the Security Council that there was an internal revolt, which also they had themselves organised. The person, who had planned the internal revolt and the attack under the instructions of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, has at long last confessed and given the details of his plan in his book 'Raiders in Kashmir' which he wrote after his retirement. He was none other than Maj. General Akbar Khan of Pakistan Army. He operated under the pseudonym of Gen. Tariq. He had instructions to keep his plan secret from the army, as it was still manned by British Officers. The attack was followed by direct military intervention by Pakistan, which they denied till they were caught red handed by the UN Commission.

After getting beating in Kashmir, they waited for their Western

allies to rescue them in the Security Council. When nothing concrete emerged after a long wait, they got frustrated. One more serious attempt was made by them to grab Kashmir by force. In 1965, *Operation Gibraltar* was launched, which led to war between the two countries. The operation started by sending thousands of guerrillas to Kashmir valley and then attacking *Chumb* to capture Akhnoor in Jammu division. When the matter came before the Security Council, they again denied having sent any guerrillas to Kashmir. Once again their generals have exposed their plans they themselves prepared. So says Lt. General Gul Hasan Khan former Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan in his book. *Memoirs*:

"The decision to mount guerrilla operations in Indian held Kashmir was taken shortly after the Kutch affair."¹³ At the other place he says:

"The guerrilla operation was named *Gibraltar* and another operation supplementary to it called *Grand Slam*, the aim of which was to capture Akhnoor."¹⁴

Referring to the disapproval of the *Operation Gibraltar* by certain sections of the Pakistan Army, the Ex. Chief says:

"The Chief and the CGS General Sher Bahadur, had from its inception, viewed *Gibraltar* as a bastard child born of liaison between the Foreign Office and HQ 12 Division—to be precise the Foreign Minister and General Malik."¹⁵

The Foreign Minister was Z.A. Bhutto. Again in his book 'Ayub Khan, Pakistan's First Military Ruler,' the former Secretary of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of Pakistan, Mr. Aftab Gauhar says:

"Some time after *Sheikh Abdullah's* visit to Pakistan in 1964, Ayub authorised the Foreign Office to prepare a plan in consultation with G. HQ to defreeze the Kashmir issue. A secret Kashmir cell (called the Kashmir Publicity Committee) consisting of the secretaries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Director Intelligence Bureau, Chief of General Staff and Director of Military Operations, was set up to keep the Kashmir situation under constant review.

Ayub went to Muree on May 13, 1965 six weeks before the Cease-fire in the Rann of Kutch became effective to examine the plan that had been prepared by General Akhtar Malik, General Officer Commanding of 12 Division, to launch guerrilla operations in Kashmir. General Malik a tall handsome officer, highly respected by his colleagues and people among his men, explained the details of *Operation Gibraltar* on a sand table. Bhutto, general Musa and some other senior officers were present at the briefing, which went on over an hour. Towards the end Ayub put his finger on Akhnoor, an important town of great strategic value, and asked, "but why don't you go for the jugular?" "That would require lot more men and money," replied General Malik. After some discussions, Ayub sanctioned additional funds and told the Commander-in-Chief to provide the necessary manpower. Thus was Akhnoor introduced into operation, which was shown as a red flag in General Malik's plan? The assault on Akhnoor was later given code name *Grand Slam*. The timing of the Grand Slam was not discussed but every one admired Ayub for giving the operation a real edge and a new dimension. *Operation Gibraltar*, it was understood, would remain a secret and even the corps commanders would not be told about it at that stage."¹⁶

Pakistan's Strategic Interests

Kashmir had been an obsession with Pakistan right from the day they threw it into the lap of India by criminal miscalculation. They thought that Kashmir was a *Muslim* majority state and geographically so disposed as to form a part of Pakistan. They also dreamt of *Neo-Pan-Islamic Crescent* of Iqbal's conception in which Kashmir held an appropriate and important place. Afghanistan being the gateway to Central Asia, rich with oil and gas deposits, could be connected more conveniently through Kashmir.... "Engineering studies carried out by Islamabad on potential routes for a new railway link to connect Karachi and Central Asia, concluded that 'if such a line is to be viable from the economic point of view—both costs and construction and of operations—it must pass through Indian Kashmir."¹⁷ Pakistan wants to become

linchpin in the Trans-Asian region bringing in its ambit Kashmir, Xin-Jiang Province of China, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and other Central Asian nations. In order to consolidate their borders with China, they want Kashmir. A USA Task Force Report on Pakistan's *Pan-Islamic* designs, says, "—Mrs. Bhutto's Islamabad considered the escalation of *Islamist* terrorism into Central Asia and even the Peoples Republic China's Xin-Jiang Province the most expedient instrument to ensure Pakistan enduring centrality in an evolving regional strategic dynamics in which Pakistan would have otherwise been marginalized if not out-rightly ignored." In order to deter and contain India, Pakistan's strategic aim is to keep India involved in the *Islamist* terrorism in Kashmir and other parts of Pak-Indian border. According to Task Force Report, "It has been the corner stone of Islamabad's strategic design that it would be next to impossible for an India pre-occupied with domestic instability and terrorism to launch a war against Pakistan or even react to major provocations." Also Kashmir assumes importance for Pakistan for many other considerations. It provides for instance, diversion from failures at home. The authorities that be in Pakistan rally support from fundamentalists and other backward sections of people over the question of Kashmir. It suits the drug barons and the connected lobby. Besides, Pakistan has a perspective beyond Kashmir and uses it for such objectives. US House Republican Research Committees Task Force Paper of May 21, 1994 is of the opinion that Pakistan uses tension over Kashmir as an alibi for expanding terrorist training and support system for their operations all over the world especially in Central Asia. Pakistan has an ambition of being the leader of the *Islamist Jihad* world over.

Post Operation Gibraltar Scenario in Kashmir

After *Operation Gibraltar* ended in fiasco, it dawned upon the Pakistani leaders that unless people of Kashmir, especially the youth are involved in their operations, these are bound to end in failures. They, therefore, did not visualize any plans of direct intervention in Kashmir for quite sometime. They however continued with the policy of subversion through its Inter-Service Intelligence

Organisation. A subversive outfit known as *Al-Fateh* was formed in 1968. Pakistan provided explosives, arms, training facilities and financial support. "It looted banks, raided Government offices and planned, not only, kidnapping of at least two ministers but also, the assassination of State Chief Minister G.M. Sadiq."¹⁸ The main objective of this outfit was to carry on the armed struggle to liberate Kashmir. It was trying to establish contacts with other organisations especially students. It had also established links with Plebiscite Front. The organisation was in touch with Pakistan High Commission. First Secretary to Pakistan High Commission, Zafar Iqbal Rathore was declared as persona-non-grata by the India having been found involved in the activities of *Al-Fateh*. Jammu and Kashmir Police tracing certain clues unearthed this outfit in Jan. 1971, when they raided a deserted building at *Barsu* near *Awantipur* on the National Highway. Earlier in 1967 and 1968 two cases called *Nawakadal* and *Islamia college* conspiracy cases were registered with police. Both the cases involved the terrorist acts.

Zia Plan

Meanwhile the humiliating defeat of Pakistan Army at the hands of Indian counterparts in East Pakistan in 1972 added grist to the mill of anger and strong feelings of revenge against India in its Western wing. Ninety thousand troops including highly trained officers of different ranks had become prisoners of war. East Pakistan had been declared as an independent sovereign state under the name of Bangladesh. Pakistan had been bruised beyond limits. The spirit of revenge continued to lurk in the mind of every Pakistani army officer though in a dormant state till, Zia-ul-Haq took over the reins of power after throwing out Z.A. Bhutto. By that time Bhutto had engaged himself in the rehabilitation of Pakistan after its disaster in East Pakistan. Also it could not have interested him to make an immediate volte-face of his commitment to Indira Gandhi on Kashmir. Therefore, he busied himself in introducing radical land reforms in Pakistan to liberate the poor peasantry from the clutches of big landed estates. It must have

been more so to weaken the power of land barons of Pakistan who ultimately conspired to get him killed. Much before Zia's briefing to his Corps commanders and ISI top officers in April 1988 in his residential office, he had given orders to General Akthar Abdul Rehman to prepare a plan for liberating Kashmir. General Zia-ul-Haq had given a detailed briefing earlier also. The briefing in April 1988 had been exposed through a mole from Third World Country. The contents of the Presidents address had become available to India's RAW in Oct. 1988, which were:¹⁹

"Gentlemen, I have spoken on this subject at length before, therefore, I will leave out the details. As you know due to our preoccupation in Afghanistan, in the service of *Islam*, I have not been able to put these plans before you earlier. Let there be no mistake, however, that our aim remains quite clear and firm—the liberation of Kashmir valley—our *Muslim* Kashmiri brothers cannot be allowed to stay with India for any length of time, now. In the past we had opted for ham-handed military operations and therefore, failed. So, as I have mentioned, before, we will now keep our military option for the last moment as a *Coup-de-grace*, if and when necessary. Our Kashmiri brethren in the valley, though with us in their hearts and minds are simple-minded folk and do not easily take to the type of warfare to which, say, a *Punjabi* or an *Afghan* takes to naturally, against foreign domination. The Kashmiris, however, have a few qualities, which we can exploit. First his shrewdness and intelligence, second his power to persevere under pressure; and the third, if I say so, he is a master of political intrigue. If we provide him means through which he can best utilize these qualities—he will deliver the goods, sheer brute force is in any case not needed in every type of warfare, especially so in the situation obtaining in the Kashmir valley, as I have explained earlier.

Here we must adopt those methods of combat, which the Kashmiri mind can grasp and cope with—in other words, a coordinated use of moral and physical means, other than military operations, which will destroy the will of the enemy, damage his political capacity and expose him to the world as an oppressor. This aim, gentlemen, shall be achieved in the initial phases.

In the first phase, which may, if necessary, last a couple of years we will assist our Kashmiri brethren in getting the hold of power apparatus of the state by political subversion and intrigue. I would like to mention here that as no government can survive in occupied Kashmir unless it has the tacit approval of Delhi, it would be unrealistic to believe that MUF or any such organisation can seize power through democratic or other means. In view of this, power must 'apparently' remain with those, whom New Delhi favours. We must, therefore, ensure that certain "favoured politicians" from the ruling elite be selected who would collaborate with us in subverting all effective organs of the state. In brief, our plan for Kashmir, which would be code-named as "*Op. Topec*", will be as follows:

Phase—I

A low level insurgency against the regime, so that it is under siege, but does not collapse as we would not yet want Central Rule imposed by Delhi.

We plant our chosen men in all the key positions; they will subvert the police forces, financial institutions, the communication network and other important organisations.

We whip up anti-Indian feelings amongst the students and peasants, preferably on some religious issues, so that we can enlist their active support for rioting and anti-government demonstrations.

Organise and train subversive elements and arm groups with capabilities, initially, to deal with para military forces located in the valley.

Adopt and develop means to cut off lines of communications between Jammu and Kashmir and within Kashmir and between Kashmir and Ladakh by stealth, without recourse to force. The road over *Zojila* upto *Kargil* and the road over *Khardungla* should receive our special attention.

In collaboration with *Sikh* extremists create chaos and terror in Jammu to divert attention from the valley at critical juncture and discredit the regime even in the Hindu mind.

Establish virtual control in those parts of Kashmir valley where Indian Army is not located or deployed. The South Kashmir valley may be one such region.

Phase—II

Exert maximum pressure on the *Siachen*, *Kargil* and *Rajouri-Poonch* sectors to force the Indian Army to deploy reserve formations outside main Kashmir valley.

Attack and destroy base depots and HQ, located at Srinagar, *Pattan*, *Kupwara*, *Baramulla*, *Bandipore* and *Chowki Wala* (*Chowki Bal*) by covert action at a given time.

Some *Afghan Mujahideen*, by then settled in *Azad Kashmir*, will then infiltrate in selected pockets with a view to extending areas of our influence. This will require detailed and indigenous planning. The fiasco of *Operation Gibraltar* (1965) holds many lessons for us here.

Finally a special force under selected retired officers belonging to *Azad Kashmir* with the hard core consisting of Afghans will be ready to attack and destroy airfields, radio stations, block *Banihal Tunnel* and *Kargil—Leh Highway*.

At a certain stage of the operations Punjab and adjacent areas of Jammu and Kashmir will be put under maximum pressure internally by our offensive posture.

Phase—III

Detailed plans for the liberation of Kashmir valley and the establishment of independent *Islamic* state in the third phase will follow.

We do not have much time. Maximum pressure should be exerted before the general elections in India and before Indian Army reserves, which are still bogged down in Sri Lanka become available. By the grace of God we have managed to accumulate large stocks of modern arms and ammunition from US consignments intended for *Afghan Mujahideen*. This will help our Kashmiri brethren achieve their goals. Even if we create a kind of *Azad Kashmir* in some remote parts of occupied Kashmir as a

beginning, the next step may not be as difficult as it appears today. On the other hand, it should also be noted that a part of Indian Army, particularly the Infantry, would be well trained by now for such situation due to their experience in North Eastern Region and more recently in Sri Lanka. But the situation in Kashmir will be somewhat different; more like the '*Intefada*' of *Palestine* in towns, and on the pattern of Mujahideen in the countryside to attack hard targets. A period of chaos in the state is essential in the circumstances.

And what of our Chinese friends? They can do no more than ensure that Indian forces deployed against them are not moved out; but this may be required only at the last or the third stage of our operations. Of course if we are in serious trouble, the Chinese and our other powerful friends shall come to our rescue one way or the other. They will ensure if we do not win, at least, we do not lose.

Finally I wish to caution you once more that it will be disastrous to believe that we can take on India in a straight contest. We must, therefore, be careful and maintain a low military profile so that the Indians do not find an excuse to pre-empt us, by attacking at a time and at a point of their own choosing, at least before Phase—I and Phase—II of the operation are over. We must pause and assess the course of operation after each phase, as our strategy and plan may require drastic changes in certain circumstances. I need not emphasise any further that deliberate and objective assessment of the situation must be ensured at each stage; otherwise a stalemate will follow with no good for Pakistan. *Pakistan Paindabad.*"

Training Way Back from 1986

Topec was already in operation when Zia-ul-Haq gave above briefing to his Generals and other officers. Thousands of youths from Kashmir had been sent to Afghanistan way back in 1986. Former Army Chief of Pakistan Mirza Aslam Beg has confirmed the fact when he gave an interview to US journalist and Carnegie Endowment Scholar Selig S. Harrison in Nov. 1991. He told him

that, "right from 1986 onwards thousands of ISI trained Kashmiris were being sent to Afghanistan for battle inoculation and subsequent return to fight in the valley."²⁰ General Akhtar Abdul Rehman had designed that their plan would come into effect in Kashmir in 1991. He had roughly presumed that by spring 1989 the liberation of Afghanistan would be complete.²¹ But due to his death along with President Zia-ul-Haq in an air-crash on August 17, 1988, the plan was implemented prematurely. General Akhtar Abdul Rehman had left no body under doubt that Kashmiris were ready to lay down their life for the liberation of Kashmir. Writes Brigadier Haroon Rashid former Chief of ISI:

"General Akhtar was so profoundly involved in this that he himself met with these Kashmiris who were prepared to lay down their lives for the liberation of Kashmir from the stronghold of India and its accession with Pakistan." The Kashmiris were provided with some arms, which were not suitable for Afghan Mujahideen...."²²

Political Outfits Unite

While preparations were made by Pakistan on government level, various organisations in so called *Azad* Kashmir and Kashmir Valley had started consolidating for political battle under ISI directions. They were preparing ground for all forms of terrorism to stifle any voice of dissent. In so called *Azad* Kashmir all the parties belonging either to the opposition or the government decided to unite on common minimum programme in 1986. They united under new organisation called *Kashmir Liberation Alliance*. Among other smaller political outfits the main parties were *Jamat-e-Islami* and *Kashmir Liberation Front* of Aman-ullah Khan. The minimum programme agreed upon was:

- (i) that they would fight for the right of self determination for the people of Kashmir as envisaged in the UN resolution of Aug. 13, 1948,
- (ii) that they would foil all covert and overt attempts to divide Kashmir including *Gilgit* and *Baltistan*,

- (iii) that they would try to clear the misconceived impression created throughout the world that Kashmir is a territorial dispute and emphasise upon the fact that it is the question of giving right of self-determination to its people,
- (iv) that they would support the liberation struggle in Kashmir and any attempts to change the majority into minority would be fought out, and
- (v) that the alliance would not be allowed to be used either by party in power or opposition in Pakistan.

On this side of the *Line of Control*, in the valley of Kashmir, people are highly intelligent and politically very conscious. For many years they remained under the spell of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who had given tremendous sacrifices for them and elevated them to a better economic and cultural life. But what had unhinged them was when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on differences with Government of India was arrested. Without being the member of the *Plebiscite Front*, he advocated right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir as a bargaining counter. Through this front he pursued this agenda for more than two decades. Suddenly after 1975 he disbanded *Plebiscite Front* and gave up slogan of right of self-determination. By that time lot of damage had been done and many tough cadres did not reconcile to the new situation. One group of the *Plebiscite Front* organised itself as *Mahaz-i-Azadi*, which today includes the list of terrorist organisations. Later on according to the *Rajiv-Farooq Accord* in Nov. 1986, Farooq had to hold power in alliance with Indian National Congress. This too shocked the cadres of the National Conference and they adopted highly indifferent attitude towards the National Conference and its leadership. Indian national Congress had no base in the valley. National Conference fought the freedom struggle in Kashmir though Indian National Congress had supported it from outside Kashmir. The Congress in Kashmir under Sadiq Sahib, D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim had gained some strength. But it had been frittered away by infighting.

Growth of Jamat-e-Islami

Jamat-e-Islami, which was not a force to be reckoned with in

Kashmir, picked up slowly. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was not favourably inclined to *Jamat-e-Islami*. In fact when Mr. Bhutto was executed in Pakistan National Conference cadres indulged in looting and arson. They felled down the orchards of *Jamat-e-Islami* leaders. According to the *Tarikhi Hurriyat-e-Islami*,²³ 1,245 houses, 513 food-grain godowns, 338 cowsheds, 65 *Jamat* libraries, 24 *Jamat* offices and 22 factories were burnt. Besides, 466 houses and 45 *Jamat* schools looted. Also 70 orchards were felled down and badly damaged. All this added to the zeal and dedication of the *Jamat-e-Islami* workers. With tremendous support from foreign lands, the *Jamat-e-Islami* made lot of progress and increased their membership. By 1986, they had 10,000 hardcore members, 25,000 ordinary members or sympathisers and about 50,000 persons under their ideological influence.²⁴ They had even foreign contacts much earlier and had been receiving funds overtly and covertly. Arab countries, Iran and Pakistan had been their main sources. In March 1980 they invited a delegation from the Madina University. The delegation remained in Kashmir for about three days and had detailed consultations with the top leadership of *Jamat-e-Islami*. The leader of the delegation Prof. Abdul Samad while addressing a meeting at the Lala Rukh Hotel declared that, "For *Islamic Inqalab*, we have to prepare people individually and collectively, for which we shall have to give sacrifices." The same year in the month of September *Amir, Jamat-e-Islami* of so-called *Azad Kashmir* came to Kashmir, apparently on a private visit but actually for briefing his counterparts over the things to come. He openly declared that people of Kashmir were not party to *Simla Agreement*. He wanted to communicate the message that Kashmir was not a settled problem and Kashmiris had yet to settle it. He was asked to leave Kashmir within 24 hours. Across the *Line of Control*, the President of so-called *Azad Kashmir*, who was close to *Jamat-e-Islami* in Kashmir valley, invited *World Islamic Organisation* (Asian Wing) in Jan. 1981 to seek a declaration in support of the struggle of the people of Kashmir for right of self-determination. In short, moves were afoot to organise and strengthen *Islamic* fundamentalism in Kashmir for the obvious reasons.

Role of Alien Mullahs

Within the valley *Jamat-e-Islami* got sustenance from alien *Mullahism*. Kashmir's traditional *Mullahism* though obscurantist in nature, respected communal harmony and believed in the co-existence of different faiths. But the alien *Mullahism* preached fundamentalism. There were certain historical reasons responsible for such a difference. This class of *Mullahs* had emigrated from central Asia during Timor's invasion and slowly established their foothold in Kashmir. At present they are constituted of *Andrabis*, *Qadris*, *Suharwardys*, *Bukharis*, *Chestis*, *Samnanis*, *Fazlis*, *Kamilis*, *Ashais*, *Naqshbandis*, *Geelans*, *Qureshis* and *Qazis* etc. They have acquired influential positions and are very much respected. They have been despised in the past and even excommunicated by people from Kashmir. But today they form the most rabidly fanatic section of Kashmiri Muslim Society and responsible for *Islamic* fundamentalism in Kashmir. Says the veteran freedom fighter *Peer Gayas-ud-Din*:

"This category of priests disseminated fundamentalist philosophy and were the founders of *Jamat-e-Islami* in Kashmir. They were opposed to Kashmiri nationalism and secular movement and displayed their vehement resistance to radical land reforms, modern education and rights to women. Today this segment of *Mullahs* constitutes bedrock of secessionism and militancy in Kashmir. They express vigorously the demand that Kashmir should be virtual theocratic *Muslim* state. *Jamat-e-Islami* is the main lever of the *Muslim United Front* (MUF) and its hardcore constitutes the armed wing—*Hizbul Mujahideen*."²⁵

Azan, *Dukhteran-i-Millat* and *Jamat-i-Tulba*

Jamat-e-Islami owns an official organ—*Azan*. Through its columns, besides preaching *Islamic* fundamentalism, they have been following a tirade against communist ideology. During the *Afghan* conflict, it supported *Afghan* rebels and opposed vehemently Soviet intervention in *Afghanistan*. In an editorial it wrote, "Russian leaders in power are not as much anxious in justifying Russian

military intervention in Afghanistan as Mrs. Indira Gandhi." It described Russia as the enemy of the people of Kashmir for vetoing Anglo-American resolution in the Security Council for sending UN Peace Force to hold plebiscite in Kashmir. The *Azan* strongly criticised Yaser Arafat, when he visited Kashmir in 1980, for not having supported right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. The paper was an excellent blending of religion with politics and it was skilfully preparing for anti-India revolt in Kashmir.

Armed with *Azan* and assisted by its two active wings, *Dukhteran-i-Millat* and *Jamat-i-Tulba*, *Jamat-e-Islami* had launched a sharp pincer drive to indoctrinate and activise people for *Islamist Jihad*. *Dukhteran-i-Millat* was its women's organisation, which had established *Mohalla* wise cells. Its members went from home to home advocating social reform and actually giving them message about the *Islamist Jihad*. Its main cadres were formed of the womenfolk belonging to alien *mullahs* of Kashmir. It was not, therefore, surprising that the Chief of the *Millat* was Aisha Andrabi. The members of the organisation, donning black veils paraded the city of Srinagar forcing Muslim girls to use veils and tearing off all the advertising posters exhibiting women. They used their veils for carrying on subversive activities including carrying weapons for their Mujahideen engaged in *Jihad*.

Jamat-i-Tulba was its students' wing. They organised students apparently on student problems, but in actual practice indoctrinated and trained them for fighting the political battle for establishing *Nizam-i-Mustafa* in Kashmir and *Ummat-i-Wahidah* the world over.

Joining hands with fundamentalist organisation in so-called *Azad Kashmir*, Pakistan recruited Kashmiri youths for training, initially from *Jamat-e-Islami* and *Jamat-e-Tulba*. After their training these youths were inducted into Kashmir in small numbers. *Jamat-e-Islami* had taken upon itself not only to provide cadres for subversive training but also to prepare ground among people for an adequate response to *Islamist Jihad*, which they thought was at hand. By means of numerous '*Madrasas*' they were indoctrinating

the tiny saplings in *Islamic* fundamentalism. Those who were of eight or ten years of age that time are today adults with a world outlook within the contours of *Islamic* fundamentalism. They had been preaching their ideology in mosques through discourses of alien *Imams* in a very subtle and planned manner. Their printed material was a package of books, pamphlets and leaflets, which they distributed free of cost. Discourses of guest speakers were organised in specially called assemblies of their members and sympathisers. Not content with this much, they displayed *Quranic* Injunctions selectively on the black boards at the road crossings of the densely populated areas of the city of Srinagar. People were watched if they performed the *Nimaz* all the five times. They were persuaded to do so. It was to be performed even during office hours. Mosques were constructed inside the state secretariat and the premises of the Kashmir University—the government bureaucracy either being pressurised or having full sympathy with them. All out environment was created, in which a mosque was made a hub of their political activity and subsequently a sanctuary for terrorists. Most dreaded terrorists were given shelter in mosques and certain sections of the *Mohalla* people clandestinely contributed for arranging sumptuous dinners for them. *Jamat-e-Islami* of Pakistan and of so-called *Azad Kashmir* galvanised the support and liberal financial assistance from *Islamic* countries for their counterparts and their outfits in the valley of Kashmir.

Allahwale

What boosted further the fundamentalist euphoria in Kashmir during late eighty's was the unusual activity of *Allahwale*. It is a band of die-hard followers of *Islam*, interpreting its precepts in their own way. They became suddenly restless. The timing of their activities smacked of a common hand behind the programmes of the *Jamat-e-Islami* and this brand of fundamentalists. During the summer months of 1988, they held a conference at *Eid-Gah*, Srinagar in which representatives of Indian States and Arab countries participated. The delegates talked of the doctrinal purity of *Islam* and carrying *Jehad* for this objective. *Allahwale* held a week's

convention in the downtown part of the Srinagar city, which received support from the Farooq Ministry. Why the Ministers and the bureaucrats of the Farooq's Government attended this convention is a mystery till this day. Some of the *Allahwale Imams* had been inducted into various mosques of the Kashmir valley for *Tablig* in these mosques. Many of them had gone outside Kashmir to get training in religious discourses and correct pronunciation. They would invariably deliver political speeches quoting examples from *Islamic* history. That is how they were directed to do.

The Political Outfits in the Valley

The political outfits in the valley that had decided to fight for what they called '*Azadi*' were the projections of various political outfits that had united under *Kashmir Liberation Alliance* in so-called *Azad Kashmir*. These were mainly the *Jamat-e-Islami* and *Kashmir Liberation Front* headed by Aman-ullah Khan and other outfits. These outfits could be broadly divided into two categories. One supporting the independent Kashmir and the other supporting Jammu and Kashmir state becoming a part of Pakistan. Both of them opposed India. *Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front* was floated way back in 1965. It has a branch in London having links with British Intelligence. It is in England that some of its literature is printed. Maqbool Bhat had joined it later. In 1986 when Aman-ullah Khan was deported from England in connection with the kidnapping and then assassinating an Indian diplomat in 1984, Pakistan welcomed him with open arms. They thought of liberating Kashmir by means of an armed struggle under his leadership. But not before too long they suspected that he had leanings towards establishing an independent Kashmir. So they lost trust in him. They floated their own outfits from 1989 onwards. These pro-Pakistan outfits were:

Hizbul Mujahideen (HM), *Al-Jehad Force (AJF)*, *Al-Umar Mujahideen (AUM)*, *Allah Tigers* and *Muslim Mujahideen (MM)*. Fundamentalist Organisations based in Pakistan and so-called *Azad Kashmir* also enrolled local youths for armed *Jehad* and put them under *Jamat-e-Islami* and *Jamat-*

e-Tulba, Peoples' League, *Hizb-e-Islami*, *Islamic Students League*, *Zia Tigers*, which surfaced in the early ninety's also, advocated Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

Power Politics Unites the Enemy

"Whatever their nomenclature, there was no outfit which had not the direct or indirect link with Inter Service Intelligence of Pakistan to begin with. All of them were working as directed under the laid plan. What made their operations easy was the political mess created by politicians of Kashmir who were constantly involved in a power game. Be it *Farooq Abdullah*, *Ghulam Mohammad Shah* or *Mufti Mohammad Sayyid*. They had created circumstances for an alliance of anti-India forces to fight elections in 1987. It was known as *Muslim United Front* (MUF). It was a Front constituted of mainly *Jamat-e-Islami*, *Islamic Students League*, *People's Conference*, *Awami Action Committee*, *Muslim Conference* and *Itihad-ul-Muslimeen*. Some of the hardcore of MUF had already returned from Pakistan on the eve of elections. They had returned after gaining experience in guerrilla encounters in Afghanistan and were fully trained. Most of them had actually participated in the communal carnage of Feb. 1986 at Anantnag in Kashmir valley in which scores of Hindu Temples were damaged and desecrated. They presented a tough fight to National Conference candidates. Suspecting that he might lose absolute majority by a few members (from the valley) Farooq Abdullah resorted to rigging in some of the constituencies in which National Conference was likely to lose. MUF leaders took this as challenge. Apprehending breach of peace in the valley Farooq Abdullah put them behind the bars. It provided an added alibi to some of the leaders to take up the guns for achieving their goal. Yasin Malik, the General Secretary of the *Islamic Students League*, founded in 1986, supported one Mohammad Yusuf Shah in the election along with his colleagues, Ashfaq Majid Wani and Hamid Sheikh. But Yusuf Shah, whom they expected to win, was defeated. They were badly hurt. After detention for about eight months when Yasin Malik was released, he crossed the *Line of Control* in May 1988. After receiving training in the use of arms and

ammunition he came back along with other trained young men. It was then in the month of September, that they attempted to kill Deputy Inspector General of Police, Mr. Watali, at his home but instead, they lost one of their terrorist colleagues; Aejaz Ahmed Dar who was so killed by the guards of the officer. While the police came into action and rounded up many suspects, Yasin Malik along with a few others crossed the *Line of Control* to take refuge in so-called *Azad Kashmir*. In Feb. 1989, he again came back and attacked a detachment of Central Reserve Police at a location on *Nallah Mar* and killed four of the Security personnel. It was after this that Yasin Malik and three of his colleagues—Hamid Sheikh, Ashfaq Majid and Javed Ahmed Mir (Nalka) once again founded *Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front* in the valley. The leadership was provided by this group of four, popularly known as *HAIY Group*—each letter standing for each name. Mohammad Yusuf Shah who was defeated in the election subsequently rose to the position of top leader of the most notorious and dreaded terrorist outfit of Pakistan in Kashmir—*Hizbul Mujahideen* and is today commonly known as Sayyid Salah-ud-din. Yasin Malik became the Chief Commander of JKLF in 1990 when Ashfaq Majid Wani was killed. He was then made the President in the year 1992 when the JKLF was reorganised.

Condition Worsens in 1989

During the winter and summer months of the year 1989, bomb blasts had become the order of the day. People had started becoming panicky. Nobody was sure that he could return safe to his home. Even Chief Minister of Kashmir in reply to a question informed the legislative Assembly in its summer session of 1989 that seventy-two blasts took place between January and July 1989. He added that five persons were killed and fifty-two were injured in those blasts. Damage was caused due to fifty-one explosions. One hundred fifty seven persons had been arrested and out of them eighty were trained in Pakistan or Pak-Occupied Kashmir and seventy-seven were those who acted as motivators or collaborators or harbourers etc. Further he said that twenty three

persons of the arrested were released on the parole on the eve of *Id*. It was believed that those released persons never returned and in fact joined terrorist ranks. The matter should have been investigated, but it was not. What led to the public declaration of terrorism in Kashmir was the interesting episode of kidnapping of Dr. Rubaya Sayyid the daughter of Mufti Mohammad Sayyid. Due to the foolish miscalculation of the central and state governments an order was passed to release the five hardcore terrorists in a bargain for setting free the doctor. The kidnapping had taken place on Dec. 8, 1989, when Mufti Sayyid had already become the Home Minister of India. He used all his influence on the Prime Minister to get his daughter set free at the cost of country's interests. The terrorist network was not so much widespread in Kashmir those days that she could not have been traced and got set free by police action. Mr. V.P. Singh succumbed to the emotional appeals of his Home Minister. He was supported by opposition parties including BJP. After five days negotiations, the inexperienced Government caved in to the demands of the newly born terrorist group of no consequence. When they were released there were jubilations in Kashmir. They were received as heroes. The subversives openly celebrated the occasion. Welcome arches adorned the roads on which the procession carrying these five terrorists amidst the shouting of slogans passed. People raised their hand in a 'V' for victory sign and sang the songs of freedom. This inept handling of a minor problem by the Central Government of the mighty Indian Union, lionised this miniscule terrorist outfit of a group of four (*HAIY Group*). It tantamounted to giving recognition to them by the Indian state. Henceforth all the terrorist groups in Kashmir got the impression that they were in a position to achieve their goal.

Afghanistan Experience

By this time the sponsors of the terrorism in Kashmir were ready for a major operation. They had learnt from the experience in Afghanistan that insurgency operations in Kashmir on Afghan model would deliver goods for them. The fall of Najibullah

Government had convinced them that liberation of Kashmir was possible by a tested methodology used in Afghanistan especially with the help of Afghan war veterans. So, Pakistan started moving in this direction from 1986 very actively. "Thus in 1986 with growing experience with training, organising and running the *Afghan Mujahideen* and with military supplies available (through US, Saudi Arabia and other foreign assistance), Pakistan began expanding its operation to support and promote separatism and terrorism primarily in Kashmir as a strategic long term programme"²⁶ Pakistan did not only provide its territory for arms training of Kashmir youth, but also armed them with sophisticated weapons. The training was supervised directly by the Pakistan Intelligence Agencies and it included education in *Islamist* fundamentalism and *Jehad*. They also made funds available for the operations.

War Declared against Minorities

A virtual war was declared against India on the night of Jan. 19, 1990. It was the darkest night of Kashmir's history, when exactly at 11 P.M., the loudspeakers, invariably from all the mosques of the valley blared with, "*Allah-o-Akbar, Musalmano Jago, Kafiro Bago, Jihad aa Raha hai* (Allah-o-Akbar, arise and awake Muslims, buzz off infidels, Jihad is approaching). The slogans yelled from the previously prepared cassettes in Pakistan were replete with slogans, which threatened the very ancient cultural heritage of Kashmir. In short these slogans alluded to civilizational clash. "Ganga Jamuna mein aag lagayenge" (we shall destroy the civilization of Ganga Yamuna). The slogans did not only threaten the physical being of all the Indians in Kashmir but also their ethos, culture and what they stood for. All were face to face confronted with Islamic fundamentalism, which like Nazism and Fascism accepted nothing beyond what they preached and practised. Who were the Indians in Kashmir then? Either some sections of National Conference or Congress workers, a few communists or like a red rag to the bull, Kashmiri Pandits. They considered them as Indian agents in Kashmir. In Kashmir *Hindus* and *Muslims* lived like warp and weft of a well-designed peace of

tapestry and the fundamentalist brigands wanted to tear it into shreds for establishing their brand of *Nizam-e-Mustafa*. Kashmiri Pandit families lived in fives and sixes in the remote villages of Kashmir valley with some concentrations in the city of Srinagar and other towns. The ISI thought that the continued stay of Kashmiri Pandits throughout the length and breadth of the valley would expose their clandestine activities. Therefore, to begin with, they scared this tiny minority of Kashmiri Pandits out of Kashmir. They applied the strategy of major guerrilla warfare as had been fought in Afghanistan to this miniscule minority of Kashmiri Pandits. Brigadier Mohammad Yousef, the Head of ISI Afghan Bureau had evolved this strategy and he puts it in his book, *The Bear Trap*:

“Death by thousand cuts—this is the time honoured tactic of guerrilla army against a large conventional force.... Ambushes, assassinations, attacks on convoys, bridges, pipelines and airfields with avoidance of set piece battles; these are the history’s proven techniques for the guerrilla.” Kashmiri Pandits did not constitute a large conventional armed force, yet they were not spared from ‘death by thousand cuts’.

On May 26, 1990 at *Shopian* ‘Brij Nath Kaul and his wife Ratna and his sister Sunita were abducted from their house. The women were stripped naked and molested in front of large number of people. Later they were taken to an isolated place and gang raped, while Brij Nath Kaul was clubbed to death; the Kaul women were dragged with jeep, which was driven with high speed on the mountainous road causing their death. The dead bodies were totally mutilated.’²⁷

On May 2, 1990 Chuni Lal Shala, Inspector Jammu and Kashmir Police (CID) travelling in a bus from *Kupwara* to *Sopore* was made to get down from the bus and lynched. His joints were broken with rifle butts by militants before he was shot dead. The gory incident took place in front of large audience. A fundamentalist militant outfit, ‘Allah Tigers’ owned the responsibility for the killing.²⁸

On May 1, 1990 at Anantnag Sarwanand Premi a retired Head Master and a reputed poet and his son Virender Kaul (working in telephone department) were abducted from their house by a group of militants who also took away their gold jewellery and valuables. Their dead bodies were found 20 Kms. away from their town. Both the dead bodies bore brutal torture marks like broken fingers, gauged out eyes and deep holes on neck and forehead.²⁹

On Feb. 23, 1990 at Srinagar, Ashok Kumar Qazi, Field Officer, State Agriculture Department was brutally killed by JKLF. First he was shot on legs and left on the roadside. People were warned against helping him. Later after one hour of the sadist display bullets were riddled in his chest and killed.³⁰

On Oct. 14, 1990 at Srinagar a group of armed militants forced their way into the house of Shyam Lal Kaul and shot dead four family members. Dr. Shiban ji, Mrs. Usha Kaul, Rajinder Kaul and Mrs. Rajinder Kaul. Mrs. Rajinder Kaul was in an advanced stage of pregnancy.³¹

On August 11, 1990 at Khrew, Pulwama, militants from the factory premises kidnapped Manager Government Cement Factory O.N. Chowdhry. His dead body was later recovered on Aug. 14, 1990 with tell tale marks of brutal torture including crushed bones of lower limbs, burn injuries on chest and back and nails of fingers pulled out.³²

Much earlier on Oct. 4, 1989 at Srinagar, JKLF militants shot dead N.K. Ganjoo, Ex. Session's judge in a busy street (Hari Singh High Street). N.K. Ganjoo had presided over the trial of Mohammad Maqbool Butt, JKLF leader in 1967-68 and passed death sentence against him for killing a police official. The killers left a note on the body of the deceased warning people against picking up the dead body.³³

On Dec. 5, 1992 at Srinagar H.N. Wanchoo was kidnapped from his residence at Jawahar Nagar by a pro-Pakistan outfit *Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen*. His dead body was thrown at Karan Nagar. "Kashmir's leading human rights activist was, ironically, not a muslim. H.N. Wanchoo, a Kashmiri Pandit, a well known and highly regarded trade unionist, took up those cases of Kashmiri

terrorists who he suspected had been killed or were illegally detained. He had filed a number of petitions in the Jammu and Kashmir High Court against the Government, and was also known to have acted as an intermediary between the Government and certain militant groups from time to time for the release of the arrested militants.³⁴ He was killed because the Chief of the *Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen*, Hilal Ahmad Mir did not want the association of any *Hindu* with the movement.³⁵

On March 19, 1990 at *Chotta bazaar*, Srinagar, B.K. Ganjoo, a junior engineer in posts and telegraphs department, was killed in a rice drum. "The militants barged into his house, before he could leave. Ganjoo hid himself inside a tin rice drum but was found out. The terrorists did not wait a second; they pumped several rounds of bullets into the drum, as his horrified wife and family watched. Then in a psychopathic twist, they forced his wife and his daughter to taste the blood soaked rice."³⁶

On June 6, 1990 at *Trehgam*, Kupwara, Girija Tickoo w/o Girdhari Lal Tickoo of Bandipura, working as laboratory assistant at Government Girls School, Trehgam, was abducted, gang raped for many days and shred into pieces on a bar and saw mill.³⁷

On August 13, 1990 at *Sopore*, *Baramulla* Babli Raina, a teacher in Education Department was gang raped in her house in presence of her family people and then killed.³⁸

On May 7, 1990 at *Sopore*, *Baramulla*, Prana Ganjoo was abducted along with her husband, Prof. K.L. Ganjoo. She was gang raped for a number of days and then her body was abandoned on the riverbed. Her husband too was killed.³⁹

On August 8, 1991, Asha Kaul was abducted from *Achabal* her native village. She was gang raped and tortured in a deserted *Hindu* house and the dead body was abandoned there. It was later recovered in a decomposed condition.⁴⁰

On March 30, 1992, militants intruded into the house of one Sohan Lal Braroo and shot him dead during night. They gang raped his wife and young daughter. The daughter succumbed during the gang rape itself and the mother who was shot at after rape died in hospital.⁴¹

Muslims Not Spared

There were hundreds of such killings of Kashmiri Pandits, but they did not spare even their co-religionists who opposed them. Essentially it was a political battle fought by Pakistan using Islamist fundamentalism as a weapon and stifling the voice of dissent with the barrel of the gun. The Muslims who, among many others fell victims to their wrath were:

Mirwaiz-e-Kashmir, Maulvi Mohammad Farooq. On May 21, 1990 at *Nageen*, Srinagar, three Kashmiri terrorists pretending to pay obeisance, entered his residence and gunned him down.⁴² While escaping the guard of Farooq's residence attempted to get hold of one of the terrorists but failed because his other colleague fired at him. The *Mirwaiz* was taken to hospital where he was declared dead. The *Maulvi* belonged to the *Hanfi Eirikada* sect of Muslims and was against *Jamat-e-Islami* who followed Islamic fundamentalism. He was interested in the peaceful solution of the crisis in Kashmir and in this connection he had met George Fernandez a few months earlier. He was also the Chairman of the Awami Action Committee.

Maulana Sayyid Masoodi, Ex. General Secretary, National Conference. On Dec. 13, 1990 at *Ganderbal*, armed militants of *Hizbullah* dragged out 87 years old *Maulana Masoodi* former member of the Constituent Assembly of India from his house and shot him dead in front of his home.⁴³ *Maulana* Sahib was the Ex. General Secretary of National Conference of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's time and was a signatory to the Constitution of India.

Mir Mustafa, a former member of Kashmir's Legislative Assembly. On June 23/25, 1990, he was kidnapped by the militants belonging to the *Hizbul Mujahideen* while he was driving home. He was tortured for two days by the militants. Subsequently his dead body was dumped in a drain near Srinagar.⁴⁴ He was a patriot and had played a gallant role in driving out the infiltrators from Kashmir valley sent under *Operation Gibraltar* in 1965.

Abdul Sarar Ranjoor, Ex. General Secretary, Communist Party's State Unit. On March 23, 1990 at Kigam, Shopian, he was shot dead when a gang of terrorists forced their way into his house.⁴⁵ He was a veteran freedom fighter and a Kashmiri poet. To fundamentalists his ideology was anti-Islamic.

Dr. Qazi Nissar Ahmad, *Mirwaiz* of South Kashmir. On June 19, 1994 at *Dyalgam*, Anantnag Dr. Nissar was abducted during the night. His bullet-riddled body was found on the June 20, in the morning.⁴⁶ *Hizbul Mujahideen* kidnapped him. Dr. Qazi Nissar was well known as the *Mirwaiz* of South Kashmir. He was instrumental in laying the foundation of *Muslim United Front* (MUF). He was opposed to the fundamentalism of *Hizbul Mujahideen*. A learned theologian, as he was, he did not allow them to use his mosque for their activities. So he was abducted and killed.

Mohammad Shaban Vakil, editor *Alsaafa*. On April 23, 1991 at Srinagar, two terrorists wearing *Pherans* (a loose gown) entered the office of *Alsaafa* and killed the editor. He was shot seven times in the left cheek, the left ear, the left hand, and the right ear and three times in his neck.⁴⁷ He did not follow the directions of the terrorists in writing editorials.

Vice-Chancellor of the Kashmir University, Prof. Musheer-ul-Haq. On April 6, 1990 at Srinagar, the vice chancellor and his personal assistant were held in captivity for four days. On April 10, 1990 they were carried in a vehicle and released on the road where they shot them dead from behind their backs. They lay dead at the roadside.⁴⁸ Musheer-ul-Haq was reputed scholar of *Muslim* theology.

A renowned surgeon specialist Abdul Ahad Guru. On March 31, 1993 at Srinagar, the terrorists belonging to *Hizbul Mujahideen* kidnapped him. Next morning he was found dead on a roadside. He was an ideologue of JKLF. He was killed under the directions of ISI for they suspected him to have initiated a political process in Kashmir.⁴⁹

A school girl Miss Sajida Hussain. On Dec. 17, 1991 at Kokarhamam, Baramulla, Sajida a student of Higher Secondary

School was kidnapped by *Islamist* terrorists and her dead body was recovered from river *Jehlum* at Baramulla.⁵⁰

A 17-year-old Rafiq Banu. On June 13, 1992 at Baramulla, Rafiq daughter of Assadullah Waza of *Kalashpora*, Srinagar was abducted by militants. She was raped for many days. Her dead body was recovered at Baramulla.⁵¹

Mrs. Bakhta, Fatima and Sarwar. On Jan. 1, 1993 at Kupwara, these three Muslim women along with the head of the family, Mohd. Ramzan Payer and his son Parvez were shot dead by terrorists.⁵²

A casual artist Shamima Parveen. On June 6, 1993 at *Watal Kadal*, Srinagar she was abducted. She was sexually abused, tortured and killed by militants. Her dead body was recovered from *Watal Kadal*.⁵³

Family of Kamal-ud-Din. On Nov. 26, 1993 at *Rangwar*, Kupwara the militants killed, two women and an infant and three others of the family when they resorted to indiscriminate firing after intruding into their house.⁵⁴

Sabina Parveen D/o Ghulam Mohammad Darzi. On Feb. 2, 1994 at Srinagar, terrorists abducted Sabina. She was subjected to repeated sexual abuse. Then she was shot dead. Her body was recovered from the river on March 3, 1994.⁵⁵

In this way hundreds of Muslim and Hindu men and women were killed with vengeance and sadistic pleasure. But the difference in methodology of killings between Hindus and Muslims was very much pronounced. In case of Hindus they resorted to "Killing by hangings, strangulation, beheading, slitting of throats, skinning alive, blowing the bodies by tying dynamites, nailing and gunning down the innocent victims."⁵⁶ They also resorted to breaking of joints, gouging of eyes and the torturous death by bloodletting. Even a body was positioned on a bar and cut into pieces by sawmill. There were cases where persons were lynched to death by tying them to a jeep and rushed over a rough and rugged mountain path. There might have been some exceptions in the case of hanging but by and large this savage methodology was used against Kashmiri Pandits.

Minorities Forced to Leave Kashmir

Nor was this the only difference, but also that they were forced to leave Kashmir lock stock and barrel. They were uprooted from the established socio-cultural milieu and centuries old cultural heritage. Again the terrorist methodology was used. Most provocative and highly frightening communal slogans were blared from the mosques, which harassed and terrorised them. Some of the slogans were:

1. *"Allah-o-Akbar, Musalmano Jago, Kafiro Bhago, Jihad aa raha hai"*
(In the name of god, awake Muslims! Infidels get away from here, Jihad is approaching)
2. *"Zalimo-o-Kafiro, Kashmir Hamara hai, Chod doo"*
(You tyrant infidels give up Kashmir)
3. *"Kashmir mein agar rehna hai, Allah-o-Akbar Kehna hai"*
(If you want to live in Kashmir, you have to accept Islam)
4. *"Yahan kya chalega, Nizam-e-Mustafa"*
(Only prophet's order can sway Kashmir)
5. *"Islam Hamara maksad hai, Quran Hamara dastur hai, Jihad hamara rasta hai"*
(Islam is our set goal, Quran our set charter, and Jihad our way to achieve it)
6. *"Musalmaan ke teen nishan, Allah, Mohammad aur Quran"*
(The Muslims have three symbols, Allah, Mohammad and Quran)

These were only some of the slogans.

Surrounded by overwhelming Muslim majority, with the young men brandishing *Kalishnikovs* openly, tiny and fragile horror stricken minority of Kashmiri Pandits were left with no alternative but to take a course of mass exodus from their moorings. The Muslim terrorist outfits were so much impatient to see the total exodus of Kashmiri Pandits completed in a short time, that they pasted posters on the walls and gates of their houses and other prominent places like the temple doors etc. warning them to run away from Kashmir or get killed. They even wrote individual letters

and resorted to telephone calls threatening them to quit Kashmir. As if it was not enough, they then, issued a final ultimatum, through a newspaper *Alsafa* April 4, 1990 asking them to leave Kashmir within two days or face death. The ultimatum was reminiscent of the notification issued by *Sultan Sikander* (the iconoclast) in the city of Srinagar more than six hundred years ago. It read as:

“....That if a *Hindu* does not become a *Muslim*, he must leave the country or be killed. (Hassan)

History had placed Kashmiri Pandits on the crossroads. Where to take shelter was the *Himalayan* question. Pale, haggard and desperate, they crossed the *Pirpanchal* and reached Jammu. They took shelter in *Dharam Shalas*, *Temples* and in private rooms along with their relations. The exodus developed momentum. Government had to arrange camps where they had to live in tattered tents. Many of them went beyond Jammu, north, south, and east and west of India. Delhi became the hub. Feeling shy of calling them refugees in their own land, Government devised the word ‘Migrant’ as an appellation for them. The number of migrant families registered in different parts of the country up to Dec. 1998 were:⁵⁷

Jammu:—29,074, Delhi:—19,338, and other parts of the country:—2,743.

The number of Camps set up with number of families living in them were:⁵⁸

Jammu:—15 and 4,676, Delhi:—14 and 240. Rest of them live in private houses.

Loot and Arson

The houses vacated by the Kashmiri Pandits were torched, damaged or occupied by the terrorist outfits to use these for their criminal activities. “More than 30,000 houses belonging to Kashmiri Pandits, hundreds of their business establishments, educational institutions, cultural and religious institutions have been destroyed or burnt with the objective of decimating all traces of 5,000 years

old history and culture of this non-Muslim minority in Kashmir.”⁵⁹ Editor Daily Srinagar Times, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Sofi, a reputed journalist in a press interview puts the total number of Kashmiri Pandit houses burnt upto Nov. 1997 as 32,000.⁶⁰ But surprisingly Government of India, Department of Home Affairs puts the total number of private houses and shops destroyed by terrorist’s upto Jan. 1999 as 11,754 (10,005 houses and 1,749 shops). Many temples mostly in the distant rural areas were destroyed. “The muslim militants have destroyed at least 40 temples and 150 houses during the past five days, even as pro-militant political leaders urged Muslims countries to enforce economic blockade on India for the Ayodhya incidents. Most of the incidents have been reported from rural Kashmir, especially *Anantnag* district in the south and *Baramulla* and *Kupwara* districts in the north. In Srinagar city a temple and seven houses at Baramulla, a crematorium shed at Karan Nagar, migrant houses at Jawahar Nagar, Natipora and some other localities were burnt. In villages like *Wadipora* in Kupwara, Chinigund, Verinag and Dooru in Anantnag, Shergund in Baramulla, Kokernag and Chaki Narian Das, entire settlements of minority houses, schools, Dharm Shalaas and Ashrams were reduced to ashes.”⁶¹

Islamist fundamentalists looted the property left over in the vacated houses. Every Muslim had received education in the hands of a Kashmiri Pandit teacher. How ironical was it to pay them back in ample measure by resorting to the loot of their hard earned property. Articles of furniture, furnishings, beddings, clothing’s, utensils, electronic gadgets, washing and sewing machines, type writers, telephones, motorcycles, kitchen equipment including gas cylinders and cooking ranges, jewellery of gold silver and precious stones were all looted. The booty included musical instruments, rare paintings and manuscripts. Books were the special targets. Not were only the movable items looted but also the fixtures like electric fittings, sanitary and pipefitting, geysers, doors and windows and in certain cases the galvanised tin sheets forming the roofs of the houses were loosened and taken away. It was full-scale loot against the sons of the soil done with full connivance of the local

police. Apart from what was pilfered by anti-social elements and security forces, various terrorist outfits conducted the loot in an organised manner. The booty was collected in a nearby mosque and the receipts thereof were divided—part of it going for *Islamic Jihad*, part of it to the mosque and part of it to the looters. The books and manuscripts were sold by weight on roadsides. So were in this fashion, sold Darwin, Galileo, Newton, Freud, Rousseau, Karl Marx, Abnavgupt, Kshendra, Kalhan, Lal Ded and all the doyens of art and literature at crossroads in the historic city of Srinagar at so cheap a price. The rich treasure of books included even the English translations of *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the *Holy Quran* and *Bible*. The illiterate and ignorant vandals did not know what sin they were committing.

It was the verdict of the *Islamist fundamentalists*. When this author wrote to a friend a retired professor of history that Kashmiri Pandits had gone back to Kashmir after repeated persecutions, he replied, "Yes, Kashmiri Pandits will once again go back to Kashmir to provide a chance to history to repeat itself."⁶² The professor was a highly emancipated person and had been a nationalist throughout his life. He was so much hurt that he thought that things would never improve. He lost many precious books, reports and manuscripts, which he had left behind when he left Kashmir. Now, he is no more to go back to the moorings. Fundamentalism of every brand is something irrational. *Islamic* fundamentalism is against western modern civilization and the oriental philosophical thought. They want to liquidate all, which is beyond *Islamic* precepts. Even those Muslims who have accepted modern civilization are infidels for them. This is highly irrational. Man is accepted by all as a rational being. He is designed so. In the ultimate analysis he will reject an irrational approach to things. *Islamist* fundamentalism has, therefore, no chance to sustain itself. The other end of the dark tunnel will at long last, appear to be more brighter. There is already resistance to *Islamist* fundamentalism from the enlightened sections of *Muslims* throughout the world.

Cracking of the Unity

The unity which had been achieved on common minimum

programme among the various political outfits in both the wings of Kashmir across the *Line of Control*, started cracking. Pakistan started suspecting Aman-ullah Khan and his outfit for having a serious agenda for a sovereign independent state of Kashmir. They therefore, discouraged them by various means, by reducing the financial support, weaponry and training facilities. But they did not reject them outright. It could have been the policy of ISI to start the first onslaught in Kashmir through JKLF to achieve their double edged policy of getting Kashmiri Pandits driven out from the valley and at the same time getting their leaders and cadres killed in the fierce encounters with the Indian Security forces. They also got all those leaders eliminated whom they suspected of building bridges with India. They got *Maulvi Farooq*, *Mirwaiz* of Kashmir killed at his home and Dr. Abdul Ahad Guru and later Qazi Nissar Ahmad, *Mirwaiz* of south Kashmir gunned down through their own terrorist outfit, *Hizbul Mujahideen*.

Kashmiri Muslims Reject Fundamentalism

Having achieved their aim, ISI let loose hounds of fundamentalist outfits for achieving *Nizam-e-Mustafa* in Kashmir and *Ummat-e-Wahidah* in the world. *Jamat-e-Islami* of Kashmir had already started working on these lines. To establish *Nizam-e-Mustafa* in Kashmir their outfits had begun with correcting distortions prevalent in Kashmir in the socio-cultural pattern of the *Muslim* society due to the impact of Hinduism. They attempted to force Islamic style of daily life. A fat was issued to the Muslims not to take offerings of yellow *Chawal (Tehar)* to propitiate malevolent beings when faced with certain predicaments. It was a practice followed by Hindus of Kashmir. But the practice continues unabated despite the threat of the gun. The fundamentalist outfits participated in an 'urs' at *Batmalu* and ate meat to impress upon the *Muslims* that they should give up the tradition of eating 'Daal' and 'Paneer' on that day. To fundamentalists it is *un-Islamic*, because it was the practice followed by the *Hindus*. But the *Muslims* continued with their age-old tradition and rejected the suggestion of the fundamentalists. They even attempted to stop the celebration of

urs at *Batmalu*⁶³ and at *Aishmuqam* at the shrine of *Baba Zain-ud-Din*. But at both the places people resisted the dictat. There was a bloody clash at *Aishmuqam*. Islamist fundamentalist outfits torched a part of *Baba Reshi* shrine near Tangmarg.⁶⁴ The shrine of *Sheikh Noor-ud-din* at *Chrari-e-Sharief* was put on fire by the Islamist mercenaries from Afghanistan and Pakistan led by notorious terrorist. Mast Gul.⁶⁵ The Islamist fundamentalists are deadly against the shrines of *Sufi* and *Reshi* saints of Kashmir. They consider going to these shrines by the Muslims of Kashmir *un-Islamic*. Despite their preachings Kashmiri Muslims continued to go to these shrines.

The fundamentalist onslaught did not stop only at these fiats. *Allah Tigers* threatened to bomb those houses in which women inmates refused to use veils outside their homes.⁶⁶ A *farmaan* was issued by People's League directing Muslim girls not to participate in cultural programmes outside Kashmir valley.⁶⁷ *Al Barq* banned the selling of cigarettes.⁶⁸ *Hizbul Mujahideen* banned the entry of national papers and those from Jammu into Kashmir. People were banned to listen to BBC by *Wahdat-e-Islam*. They even warned *Mark Tully*, the BBC Bureau Chief at New Delhi from entering into Kashmir.⁶⁹ These fundamentalists used the terror tactics to force the press to toe their line of Islamist fundamentalism. Any deviation would bring instant punishments. The offices of *Alsafa*, *Srinagar Times* and the *Aftab* became the targets of their bombs. They even torched some of these offices. Media personalities like editor *Alsafa*, Mr. Mohammad Shaban Vakil and the Director, *Door Darshan*, Kashmir, Mr. Lassa Kaul were gunned down. These maniacs, targeted cinema halls, video libraries, beauty parlours, wine shops and bars. All were fiated to close down. The voice was stifled and freedom of thought and expression made a prisoner of gun culture. "They put to torch schools having NCERT books in their syllabus and books which according to *Jamat-e-Islami* are based on "un-Islamic concept of Darwinism and socialism"⁷⁰ Kashmir University was deprived of about two thousand books, which according to the unique theories propounded by the Islamist

fundamentalists were not in tune with their line of thought. It was irrationality touching madness.

Volume of Human Loss

Our country has lost more people in terrorist violence for the last ten years than what were lost in all the wars after independence. According to the Foreign Ministry sources total number of Indians killed in terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir and the Punjab were 25,267 persons in the last decade, but only 12,316 persons in all the wars since 1947.⁷¹ The Jammu and Kashmir state alone lost upto 1999, 22,377 persons in terrorist violence since 1988-89. The break up is given below:⁷²

S. No.	Category	Total Killed
1.	S. F. Personnel	2,102
2.	Govt. Officials	415
3.	Top Political Leaders	18
4.	Politicians	216
5.	Judiciary	12
6.	Pressmen	9
7.	Hindus	1,006
8.	Muslims	8,289
9.	Sikhs	47
10.	Others	245
11.	Militants	9,905
12.	Foreign Tourists	3
Total		22,267
Not		(2,23,77)

According to Zee News India the total number of persons killed in the terrorist violence were 19,836 persons upto Sept. 1998. The break up given below:⁷³

1. Civilians	9,150	Persons
2. Army Personnel	1,593	Persons
3. Terrorists	9,123	Persons
Total:	19,836	Persons
(Short by 120 Persons)		

The terrorist brigands did not only resort to merciless killing

of the people but also kidnapped and tortured men and women. The total number of kidnapped persons since 1989 is given for the years 1996 and 1999.⁷⁴

Total Kidnapped		Foreigners		Women		Politicians		Govt. Officials		S.F. Personnel		Number Released	
1996	1999	1996	1999	1996	1999	1996	1999	1996	1999	1996	1999	1996	1999
1666	3309	20	20	108	171	123	129	222	308	683	862	211	263

The number of kidnappings has more than doubled between 1996 and 1999. Cases were more among women and Government officials.

Public Property Destroyed

The destruction of property both public and private was enormous. One could understand the motive behind torching private property of their adversaries but what logic motivated the destruction of hospitals and educational institutions one fails to understand. Could it be the part of the *Islamist Jihad*? Thousands of government buildings, private houses and shops and public utility bridges were destroyed. The details between the year 1988 and 1997 are as below:⁷⁵

Year	Total Incidents	Govt. Buildings	Educational Institutions	Hospitals	Private Houses	Bridges	Shops
1988	128	4	4	—	19	1	—
1989	294	191	172	—	427	16	—
1990	646	501	129	—	1,242	172	202
1991	391	45	24	—	819	24	83
1992	564	65	57	—	2,312	28	200
1993	662	98	46	—	1,110	34	400
1994	606	172	119	4	666	46	162
1995	688	127	133	2	1,814	16	402
1996	39	3	2	—	59	—	13
1997	136	7	9	1	284	2	6
Total	4,154	1,213	695	7	8,752	339	1,468.

By 1998, more than 1,271 Government buildings, 765 educational institutions, 344 bridges, 1,685 shops, 10 hospitals and about 10,000 private houses were destroyed, by terrorist outfits.⁷⁶

Tactic of Creating Hatred

For achieving their goal, the terrorist strategy was to create hatred against Government and the Security Forces and thus isolate the state from the people. This strategy was followed under the directions of ISI of Pakistan. ISI in turn, had been guided on these lines by the West Asia's '*Badshahs*' of terrorism and Sudanese leaders Turabi and Mustafa Uthman. Their guidance was directly given to the ISI operatives of the Kashmir Chapter of the dreadful K-II plan against India. A recent report of the Task Force on Terrorism and unconventional warfare of the United States House Research Republican Committee has revealed that Turabi and Mustafa Uthman themselves trained various terrorist outfits including *Hizbul Mujahideen* of Kashmir, *Jamat-e-Islami* of Pakistan and *Jamat-e-Islami* of Afghanistan in different training camps in Afghanistan. These outfits then became the members of Popular International Organisation (PIO) of Turabi. According to the Task Force, "The spiral of hatred and violence between the security forces and the people served the interest of the terrorists and secessionists admirably. They achieved the aim of morally and physically isolating the people from the state without too much effort on their part. Mass discontent and alienation is critical requirement and integral to the plans of the separatist movement." The terrorists generally fired on the security forces from crowded places, private houses or from within a public demonstration so that in the retaliatory action people could get killed and their houses damaged. In many cases the terrorists took shelter in mosques, provoked firing from the security forces and then burnt the mosque themselves and put the blame on the security forces.

Disillusionment Starts

When the operation *Jehad* was given a flying start with great gusto on the night of Jan. 19, 1990, people were made to believe that the *Azadi* was round the corner, but when the Governor Jagmohan made them clean the walls of the city of the anti-Indian and pro-*Azadi* slogans by licking the walls, the wiser became thoughtful about the consequences of the adventure launched by the callow

youth of the valley. The security forces came into action. Death and destruction became the order of the day. With *Kalashnikov* in one hand and the ideology of *Islamist* fundamentalism in the other, the whole operation was conducted with dedication to a cause. Father could not argue with his son or mother to the young daughter. The whole thing had assumed the character of a charming romance. The days went by with number of epitaphs on the graves of the dead, increasing everyday. Graveyards had become full and the *Id-Gah*, a dreadful sight to look at. Mother had lost her dear son, wife her darling husband and a sister her sweet brother. But *Azadi* was nowhere visible. They were tired of the tap at the door at middle of the night. The whole *Jehad* had degenerated into criminality. By the end of 1992 alone, there had occurred 81 incidents of extortions and robbing of innocent persons and over 100 incidents of abductions.⁷⁷ Rape of the Muslim women by the terrorists had become frequent. ".....Sudanese and Afghan terrorists had shattered the limbs of four innocent persons, broke their fingers and slowly slit the throats of three of them till they bled to death. Thereafter a *Sudanese* terrorist had even eaten a bit of the flesh from the throat of the victims."⁷⁸ Criminalisation so much infested the movement that the JKLF had to give an open call for observing a three-day *Bandh* to condemn growing criminalisation. Even Shabir Shah came out openly to express displeasure for the criminal activities of the various terrorist outfits.

Criminalisation coupled with confusion created by launching numerous terrorist outfits working at cross-purposes disillusioned the people and demoralised the indigenous terrorist groups. It was a deliberate move by Pakistan's ISI. They had the policy of discouraging any movement working for the objective of an independent sovereign state of Kashmir. After the release of JKLF leader Mr. Yasin Malik from the jail, at least two attempts were made to kill him by pro-Pakistan terrorist outfits under the directions of ISI. Pakistan even banned the proposed conference of JKLF at Rawalkot (POK). So many terrorist groups were floated for *Azadi* in favour of Pakistan. Pakistan's policy of isolating Kashmiri terrorists led to the disillusionment among the people. After the

Hazratbal surrender and the cleansing operations carried at *Sopore* and *Baramulla*, people mustered courage to resist the terrorists. Although the resistance had started much earlier, yet it was more pronounced from mid 1993. It was at this time that a 14-year-old daughter of one Aameena Begum, a resident of village *Sangrama*, near *Sopore* was kidnapped raped and then killed by *Hizbul Mujahideen* terrorist outfit. Taslima's mother collected information about the hideout of the concerned criminals and then passed the information about the hideout to the army. The army then wiped out the entire gang of the outfit. In July the same year, the residents of downtown of the city of *Srinagar* staged a demonstration and set ablaze the house of *Zulkarnain*, the commander of the *Hizbul Mujahideen* of the *Srinagar* district for abduction and killing of a Muslim doctor. In the last week of December 1993 residents of *Bijbehara* observed three-day *bandh* in protest against the undesirable criminal actions of the terrorist outfits. In Feb. 1994 at *Lankreshpora*, *Baramulla* people organised a procession and shouted anti-militant slogans after the terrorists had fired indiscriminately injuring the villagers. Similarly, in *Narayanbagh*, the residents expressed their resentment against the terrorists after they attempted abduction of one *Abdul Ahad Guroo* and killing his 13-year-old daughter. On Feb. 24, 1994 residents of *Trehgam* took out a procession for firing on the security forces during the month of *Ramzan*. Even women participated in these demonstrations amidst shouting of slogans. About 1,000 persons demonstrated against terrorists on April 27 even in the native village of late Maqbool Butt—*Trehgam*. The demonstration was followed by a bloody clash among various terrorist outfits. Pro-India and anti-Pakistan slogans were raised in this demonstration. Much earlier on Feb. 10, 1991 about 600 residents of *Lassipora*, *Kupwara* demonstrated and raised anti-terrorist slogans for killing a police head constable. About two weeks later on Feb. 22, residents of the village *Khair Tangam* in district *Baramulla* refused to provide shelter to about 27 militants of *JKLF*. On the eve of new years day 1992 when one *Abdul Ahad Butt*, whose son, *Nisar*, had been killed by the terrorists, led *BSF* contingent to the village for nabbing

the culprits, about 1,000 villagers raised anti-terrorist, anti-Pakistan and pro-India slogans and later caught and handed over, *Farooq Ahmed Sofi of Al Umar Mujahideen*, to the BSF. He was their commander. The anti-terrorist attitude of the people of Kashmir manifested very glaringly when *Mirwaiz* of south Kashmir, *Qazi Nisar* was abducted from *Qazi Mohalla* residence by the *Hizbul Mujahideen* outfit on the night of June 19, 1994 and shot dead at *Bona Diyalgam* leaving his dead body on the road side the next morning. On hearing the news over 50,000 Kashmiris⁷⁹ poured into the streets of Anantnag furiously chanting anti-Pakistan anti-terrorist slogans. Even on the day of his funeral there were aggressive demonstrations against terrorism and their sponsors.

Unwilling Youth

With disillusionment setting in among people, the recruitment of Kashmiri youth to various terrorist outfits became very difficult. Nobody was now attracted to what was called *Jehad*. Forced recruitment of the youth was resorted to. In August 1993, the district commander of *Pulwama* and the area commander of *Pampore* of a terrorist outfit forcibly recruited 253 youths. Fifty out of them were below fifteen years of age and therefore let off. Other 203 youths were forced to negotiate high ranges upto 13,500 feet above sea level on their way to Pak-Occupied Kashmir. Being unwilling many of them defected in the way and escaped. The security forces apprehended about 128 of these youths in various groups. In a compound where the youth had been assembled to be presented to the press, heart-rending scenes of wailing parents and their sons hugging each other were observed. They were seen swearing loudly that they would never again fall prey to the machinations of the terrorists. *Al Jehad* had taken recourse to forcible bulk recruitment in order to strengthen their outfit. They had suffered serious set backs due to the killing and arrest of their top leaders including its Chief Sheikh Abdul Aziz, acting Chief Altaf Alamgir and their district commander of Anantnag Kaka Kotwal. Other terrorist outfits had seriously suffered in the hands of the security forces. In fact the process of

disillusionment had started way back from Feb. 1992, when Pakistan had stopped the march of JKLF across the *Line of Control* which cost 20 lives in firing by Pakistan Police. The situation developing in Kashmir and the already worked out strategy of not depending too much on Kashmiri terrorist outfits brought a qualitative change in the proxy war scenario in Kashmir. Pakistani and other foreign mercenary outfits were introduced into Kashmir.

Huji

On June 4, 1993 with the arrest of Mohammad Shafi Dar, a resident of downtown Srinagar, presence of a militant group identified as *Harkat-ul-Jehad* was revealed. According to Mohammad Shafi, the terrorist outfit had been established in September previous year. It had 400 members comprising of 300 foreign mercenaries belonging to Sudan, Afghanistan, Arab Emirates, Lebanon and Pakistan. This outfit (*HUJI*) had contacts beyond the border of Kashmir. They carried subversive and sabotage activities throughout the country. Two of its most important contacts were *Tulha Zunaid* and *Assad Ullah Khan*. One was the resident of Muradabad and the other belonging to *Mirpur* in occupied Kashmir. *Tulha* was assigned the task of arranging sabotage activities in UP and *Assad Ullah*, code named *Bilal*, to spread subversion in the *Muslim* dominated areas of Muradabad. *HUJI* had established a strong communication network in the valley and had been maintaining direct contact with ISI in Pakistan over the high frequency wireless sets. The *HUJI* believes in, "Kashmir is *Allah's* territory and we have to fight to establish in it—*Allah's* rule." Foreign mercenaries had been recruited by ISI with the purpose of demoralising the security forces and also keep the initiative in their own hands and not in the hands of undependable Kashmiris. *Mehraj-ud-Din Sheikh* code named as *Muzaffar Maulvi* was Chief of this outfit. In the last week of November 1992, 40 foreign mercenaries had crossed over to this side. One Dr. Nassarullah from Karachi headed this group. They crossed through Kupwara. Again in Dec. a batch of 70 mercenaries and in June about 100 mercenaries crossed into Kashmir from

Kupwara side. Most of them were foreigners. Upto July 1993, according to the intelligence agencies, 1,500 foreign mercenaries were operating in Kashmir and about 3,000 more were waiting to cross from POK where they were camping.

Main Terrorist Outfits

According to the US House Committee Task Force Report,⁸⁰ under the joint training of Sudanese and Libyan experts, the ISI operatives manning the Kashmir desk launched several subversive terrorist groups in the valley in the early period of terrorist violence in Kashmir. These outfits were: *Allah Tigers*, *Al Umar Mujahideen*, *Jamat-e-Islami*, *Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen*, *Hizbul Mujahideen*, *Hizb-e-Islami*, *Harkat-ul-Jehad* and others. Excepting a few with political direction, the groups are combative forces. "The pro-Pakistan *Hizbul Mujahideen*, *Al Barq* and *Pan Islamic Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami* and *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* were the main militant organisations, which started bringing the mercenaries in large numbers. By the end of 1993 an estimated 800 foreign mercenaries, plainly from Afghanistan and Pakistan with few from other countries had arrived in the valley."⁸¹ In Sept. 1993 *Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami* had been able to set up training camps in the valley in which the hardened foreign mercenaries imparted training to Kashmiri youth. Some of these elaborately organised and well-recognised outfits in the world, who are active in Kashmir, are:

1. *Harkat-ul-Ansar* (Now again called *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen*),
2. *Markaz Dawat-ul-Irshad* or *Arshad* (MDI or MDA) and its armed wing—*Lashkar-e-Toiba* (LET),
3. *Hizbul Mujahideen* (HUM),
4. *Islami Inquilabi Mahaz* (IIM),
5. *Al Barq* (AB), and
6. *Al Badr*.

1. *Harkat-ul-Ansar* or *Mujahideen* (HUA or HKUM)

This outfit was started during early eighty's under the name of *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* by a few religious elements with headquarters

at Raiwind in Punjab. Initially, it organised the humanitarian aid for Afghan refugees. With the passing of years it adopted the establishment of the supremacy of *Islam* all over the world and liberating Muslim majority areas from what they called the infidels, as their objective. With this goal in view, they merged with *Harkat-ul-Jihad-e-Islami* and changed the name of its organisation. It was then called *Harkat-ul-Ansar*. But in 1997 America notified a list of 30 international terrorist organisations which they brought under the scope of Anti-Terrorism and effective Death Penalty Act of 1996. *Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA)* was one of these organisations. So *Harkat-ul-Ansar* once again reverted to its old name—*Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM)* and at present it functions under this name. It recruits its cadres from *Tabligi Jamat (TJ)*. This organisation carries on with missionary and charitable work among Muslims. Mohammad Rafique Tarar, President of Pakistan and Lt. General Javid Nasir (Rtd.) who was the Director General of ISI were very closely associated with *TJ*. In 1993 Clinton Administration placed Pakistan on watch list of suspected state sponsors of international terrorism. To remove its name from such a list, America placed a condition on Pakistan and that was, that they should remove Lt. General Nasir from ISI along with other officers assisting terrorist groups in India, Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia. *HUM* was estimated to have recruited 5,000 volunteers and sent them to Afghanistan. They were financed by Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Osama bin Laden was an important contributor. *HUM* also recruited 6,000 volunteers from Algeria, Myanmar and Philippines. They got trained at Paktia province of Afghanistan run by Jalal-ud-Din Haqqani leader of *Hizb-e-Islami, Afghan Mujahideen Group*. *HUM* also set up its own training camp on Afghan territory across *Miran Shah* in NWFP. Best fighters of Afghan war came from *HUM*. CIA supplied to them even *Stinger* missiles. It was the largest recipient of such missiles. Fighters from *HUM* even went to Bosnia, Chechnya, Tajikistan, Burma, Philippines and India. "The *HUA (HUM)* has several thousand armed members located in *Azad Kashmir*, Pakistan and in the southern Kashmir valley and Doda region of Jammu and Kashmir State. The *HUA* uses light and heavy

machine guns, assault rifles, mortars, explosives and rockets. Membership is open to all who support *HUA's* objectives and are willing to take group 40-day training course. It has a core militant group of about 300, mostly Pakistanis and Kashmiris, but inducts Afghan and Arab veterans of the Afghan war. The *HUA* is based in Muzaffarabad (POK) but its members have participated in insurgent terrorist operations in Kashmir, Burma, Tajikistan and Bosnia."⁸²

The US state Department Report for 1997 released in 1998 informs us that there is creditable report of continued official support by Pakistan to terrorist organisations like (*HUM*) *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen*.

The sponsors of *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* are *Jalal-ud-Din Haqqani*—patron in *Afghanistan*; *Jamat-ul-Ulema-Islam*, Pakistan; *Tableeg-ul-Islam*, Pakistan and *Hizb-e-Islami* (Younis Khalis) and Pakistan's ISI.

2. *Markaz Dawat-ul-Irshad or Arshad (MDI or MDA)*

It has been sponsored by *Jamat-e-Ahle-Hadis* in Pakistan, (Hafiz Mohammad Yahaya Group) in early 1980's. Its headquarters are located at 5, Chamberlain Road, Muridke, Lahore, Pakistan. Its leaders are Amir-e-Allah, Prof. Hafiz Mohammad Sayyid, Zaki-ur-Rehman and Amir Hamza and others. It stands for establishing supremacy of *Islam* all over the world. It advocates elimination of those who do not implement *Islamic Laws*. According to them *Muslims* are duty bound to wage *Jihad* not only against *non-Muslims* but also against those *Muslims* who do not follow it. They aim at establishing *Ummat-e-Wahidah*.

MDI or *MDA* draws inspiration from Sheikh Omar Abdul Rehman, the blind Egyptian cleric presently under detention in USA. He is the spiritual leader of *Al-Gamma-Al-Islamia* of Egypt. It maintains close links with various Arab guerrilla groups operating from NWFP in Pakistan. It has regular liaison with *Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen* of Sudan and *Al-Gamma-Al-Islamia* of Egypt. For training their cadres, the *Markaz* has the facility of getting highly experienced commandos and instructors from *Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen*, who come from distant countries like Egypt, Sudan and Algeria. By early 1993, there were over 1,000 Afghan

Mujahideen in MDA alone.⁸³ "*Markaz Dawat-ul-Irshad* has been propagating *Pan Islamic Wahibi* ideology and it receives support from centres in Sudan and Saudi Arabia. During the sixth annual conference of MDI held at *Muridke*, Lahore from Nov. 3-5, 1993, Hafiz Mohammad, its Chief declared that Kashmir was not the final destination of *Mujahideen* of the *Markaz*, but only a gateway to India. He asserted that the *Jehad* would be extended to entire India."⁸⁴

Lashkar-e-Toiba is the military wing of the MDI or MDA. It has other wings also. They are:

- (i) *Markaz Dawat-ul-Arshad-Tulba*,
- (ii) *Markaz Dawat-ul-Arshan-Doctor*.

They have also the wings of teachers and labour.

3. *Hizbul Mujahideen (HUM)*

The sponsors of this terrorist group are *Jamat-e-Islami* of Jammu and Kashmir, *Jamat-e-Islami* of Pakistan, and Pan-Islamic bodies like *Hizb-e-Islami* of Afghanistan, *Rabitai Alam-e-Islam* and ISI of Pakistan. It was sponsored in Sept. 1989. It has an estimated membership of 3,000 Pakistani trained cadres, including about 300 war hardened foreign mercenaries.

Its objective is only one—to seek the merger of Jammu and Kashmir State with Pakistan with an armed struggle. Its leaders are SAS Gillani, *Amir-e-Jehad*) Pak-based Ghulam Nabi Bowsheri, Patron, Sayed Salah-ud-Din, Supreme Commander, Ali Mohammad Dar, Dy. Supreme Commander and Inayat Ullah, Military Advisor and Abdul Majid Dar, representative in Pakistan and POK.

4. *Islami Inqulabi Mahaz*

It has been sponsored by Pakistan ISI agency linked with *Markaz Dawat-ul-Arshad*. Its headquarters are based at Lahore, Pakistan. Its objective is to foment fundamentalist terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. Its leaders are Imtiaz Ahmad Shami, Lahore Chief; Abdullah, Gujarat, Pakistan, Deputy Chief; Javid Iqbal Kashmiri, Lahore, Incharge training camp Jalalabad.

5. *Al Barq*

This outfit has been sponsored by People's Conference in 1990. Its objective is to liberate Kashmir through armed struggle. It has 300 trained militants including 50 foreign mercenaries. It is headquartered at Srinagar but receives financial help from ISI and other foreign sources. Chairman of the People's Conference is the patron of this outfit. Sayed Yosuf Naseem is its Amir. Its acting Chief commander is Jehangir Khan and Dy. Chief Mr. Sona-Ullah Shah.

6. *Al Badr*

It is an outfit mostly constituted of foreign mercenaries from Pakistan and Pak-occupied Kashmir. Earlier this outfit had taken part in Afghan war as the military wing of *Jamat-e-Islami* of Pakistan. Its training camps were run in *Khost* Afghanistan with the help of Hikmatyar. In Kashmir, *Al Badr* took part in *Jihad* under *Hizbul Mujahideen* before 1998 like *MDI* and *LET*, which also participated in *Jihad* in Kashmir under *Al Barq* before 1992. Its areas of activity in Kashmir are Baramulla, Kupwara and Anantnag. It has about 3,000 militants in Jammu and Kashmir State. The outfit was floated in Kashmir in 1998 with the objective of liberating the state by armed struggle.

Revelations Made by Arrested Terrorists

Interesting revelations have been made by the members of these outfits (mostly foreign mercenaries), about their plans and working in Kashmir and other parts of India. Here are given detailed confessions of about eighteen dreaded terrorists, which throw light over the Pakistani designs.

A semi-literate drug peddler Mehrban Sati, a resident of *Kuhata* town, Rawalpindi, joined *Islami Jung* and received arms training at *Moosa* camp in POK. This man infiltrated into Kashmir valley in March 1991 along with 31 other terrorists. Here he switched his loyalty to *Hizbul Mujahideen*. He shifted to Muzaffarnagar UP in Nov. 1992 under the directions from Pakistan. There he contacted one Mohammad Iqbal Anchloo at *Mohalla Ladhanwalla*, who was Chief of *Al Jihad* over there. He briefed them about

arrangements made for training and arming of Muslim youth of UP in Kashmir valley. After visiting other parts of UP he brought two *Al Jihad* leaders to Anantnag in Jammu and Kashmir State in Dec. 1992. They were introduced to the commander of *Hizbul Mujahideen*. After receiving training they were supplied 30 pistols along with required ammunition and 250 hand grenades for terrorist activities in UP. Himself he took part in certain terrorist actions in the districts of Anantnag and Pulwama.

Mohammad Masood Azhar belonging to Bhawalpur, Pakistan and following *Deobandi* school of thought was influenced by the ideology of *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* in his school. This outfit was then active in Afghan war. After receiving one week arms training in 1989, edited and published the mouthpiece of *HUM*. Sometime after, he toured various places like Lusaka and Chipata in Zambia, Saudi Arabia, Abu-Dhabi, UK, Mongolia and other places for collection of funds for the *HUM*. He was instrumental in motivating and inducting Sajjad Afghani to Kashmir through Indo-Bangladesh border to take over the charge of *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen*. Azhar himself came to Delhi on Jan. 29, 1994 via Dacca on a forged *Portuguese* passport on assumed name of Issa. He supervised the merger of the two terrorist outfits—*Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* and *Harkat-e-Jehad-Islami* in Kashmir. These two outfits had earlier merged in Pakistan under a new name *Harkat-ul-Ansar*. He is the fundamentalist militant of *Pan-Islamic* group.

An Afghan war veteran, Sajjad Afghani (Sajjad) Khan, resident of Rawalkot, POK, was in the beginning an activist of *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen*. During 1989, he participated in the Afghan war. He was withdrawn from the Afghan war by the leaders of his outfit and kept incharge of recruitment and training of Kashmiris in a training camp in Muzaffarabad, POK. In June 1990 he infiltrated into Kashmir along with 40 young terrorists whom he had trained himself. They established a camp at Dara, Harwan, Srinagar. Sajjad went back to Pakistan in Feb. 1992 and returned in Jan. 1993, via Bangladesh border. When *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* and *Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami* were amalgamated into *Harkat-ul-Ansar*, he was

made the chief of this outfit. In Feb. 1993 he was arrested in Kashmir.

Nasrullah alias *Jangzua*, a resident of Bazrak, Panchsher, Afghanistan, a dropout from *Madrassa Rehmania*, Karachi, belonging to the terrorist outfit *Lashkar-e-Toiba*, was trained in handling arms at Konar training camp in Afghanistan in 1994. About 500 *Mujahids* were trained in this camp at that time and all were to be sent to Kashmir. He infiltrated into Kashmir in May 1994, with other 24 foreign mercenaries via *Dudhnial-Keil* sector. *Al Barq* provided them porters and guides at *Keil*. Here, he was given Rs. 3,000 by ISI. They were also given 23 AK rifles, 2 heavy machine guns and a large quantity of hand grenades, solar rockets and ammunitions. Earlier *Jangzua* had been given an amount of Rs. 15,000 and put incharge of the group. In Kashmir the *Amir* of *Lashkar-e-Toiba*, Shamsul Rehman informed him that *Jehad* had degenerated into criminality and the *Jehadis* are misusing the guns. Getting convinced by his personal experience also, he decided to surrender on June 28, 1994 in village *Dewar, Kupwara*.

A drug addict, Palestinian, Mahamud Fahad *Alhaji* had joined democratic front for liberation of Palestine as a soldier in 1975. Later he was given two years training in anti-aircraft gunnery in 1978. Without any valid documents he entered into India in June 1986 and got himself registered with UN office as a Palestinian refugee. He had to undergo four months imprisonment for having been caught without any valid documents at Goa in 1988. After his release, he shifted to Kashmir valley and was enlisted as the area commander of *JKLF*. In August 1991 he changed and joined *Hizbul Mujahideen* terrorist outfit and imparted training to its cadres at a training centre located in higher elevations of the *Pirpanjal* Range. He was a Palestinian based in Lebanon.

Tufail Rashid alias Raja Akbar a resident of Lahore was purchased by Kashmir terrorist outfit *Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen* at a salary of Rs. 1,000 per month. He received training in the handling of arms and ammunition and explosives for 31 days in the month of June and July 1993, at the training centre near *Dudhnial*. Pakistan Army ran the camp. He came to Kashmir with seven

other terrorists. Here he resorted to raping of Kashmiri women at the point of gun. He was caught shamelessly in a compromising position with Miss Muni, sister of another Pakistan trained terrorist Manzoor Mirza. To punish him, he was assigned the duty of causing an explosion at Bombay Central Railway Station. He was also given Rs. 16,000 to do the job. One more terrorist, Munawar Mirza was provided to him for assistance. At Bombay, they improvised an explosive device in a hotel. When, he walked into second-class compartment of Bombay-Ahmedabad Janata Express, the bomb slipped from his hands and exploded.

A Bengali Muslim Fahad Ullah, based in Multan Pakistan had joined *Markaz Dawat-ul-Arshad* way back in 1984. He joined *Jehad* in Afghanistan after properly getting trained at *Khost*. Some of his colleagues were sent to Bosnia and he himself to Kashmir along with one ISI officer of Colonel's rank to assess the military situation there. After reporting back he again came to Kashmir with a group of 10 terrorists including 5 Pakistanis and 1 Afghan in the month of August 1992. They chose *Shallu Bhatta* route in district Kupwara of Kashmir valley. He was involved in many encounters with the security forces along with *Al Barq* terrorist outfits.

Nasulla Manzoor *Langaryal*, resident of Jalalpur, Gujranwalla Pakistan was a terrorist highly committed to *Islamic* fundamentalism and a member of Pan-Islamic terrorist outfit *Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami (HUJI)*. Between 1983 and 1992, he was involved in war against Russian forces in Afghanistan. After that he was sent to Kashmir along with 2 POK and 8 Kashmiri terrorists, he infiltrated into Kashmir valley at the end of 1992 through *Lipa* valley. At *Kapran (Anantnag)* he joined *HUJI* terrorist outfit and participated in major action against security forces at *Dessa (Doda district)* in June 1993. They succeeded in snatching large quantity of arms and ammunition from them. One person of the BSF was abducted and then killed. This dreaded *Afghan* war veteran was arrested on Nov. 19, 1993.

Trained at *Khost* camp (Afghanistan) along with about 40 nationals, of Pakistan, Saifullah Khalid, resident of *Palandri, Poonch* had earlier joined *Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen (JUM)* during 1987. He

took part in Afghan war in 1993. He was ordered to be back in Muzaffarabad and to cross into Kashmir valley by *JUM* chief. He infiltrated into Kashmir valley along with 4 Pakistani nationals and 2 Afghans via *Lipa Valley* on Aug. 17, 1993. Under directions, they established a hideout at higher altitude in the forests of *Sopnar* in Anantnag district. From this hideout they were supposed to carry out raids on security forces. After reaching Sopnar on Oct. 4, 1993, they conducted their first raid on Oct. 15, 1993 in which Saifullah along with two Pakistan nationals were apprehended and arrested. One Afghan national was killed.

Iftikhar Haider a resident of Gujranwalla was a school dropout when he joined *Markaz Dawat-ul-Arshad*. He was trained in handling arms in 1992 in Pakistan. Then he was sent to Afghanistan to see live action. A group of 8 armed terrorists of *MDA* and 4 of *Islami Inqulabi Mahaz* were briefed and directed by the ISI officers at Kotli on Feb. 4, 1993 to cross the border into India and attack an Indian army base deep inside J&K state at *Balnoi* in Poonch sector. ISI officials including a colonel of Pak Army explained the operation to them with the help of maps. They were issued sophisticated weapons for this purpose. They crossed on Feb. 5, 1993. On Feb. 6, 1993 they launched an attack on the Indian Army base in which under a counter offensive four of his terrorists were killed while he himself along with five others was arrested.

A dropout from Diploma in Mechanical Engineering, Zulfikar Ali Shah, resident of *Latifabad*, Hyderabad, Pakistan was bought into militancy in 1989. He received training at Farooq training camp, Khost, Afghanistan along with about 70 other *Muslim* mercenaries collected from Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Algeria and Bangladesh. He also took part in the war at Afghanistan in 1991. Under ISI advice and directions, he along with 11 other guerrillas of *Islami Inqulabi Mahaz* and *MDA* crossed over to Jammu part of the J&K State on Feb. 5, 1993 through *Mendhar* sector at *Poonch*. But the Indian security forces detected the group. Five of them were arrested and three killed and others managing to escape.

Being associated with *Islami-Jamat-e-Tulba* Pakistan, Imtiaz Ahmad masquerading under fake name of Immy, Shabir Ahmad

and Shabir Bhai, joined Pakistan Army in Jan. 1990. He got further training in arms at *Charat* (POK) in Sept. 1990, in *Mounga jungle* near Lahore in 1991. For his advanced training he went to *Khost*, Afghanistan, where he was trained at an *Al Badr* camp III. Then in May 1991, Imtiaz with a contingent of 50 terrorists, which included about 28 Pakistani nationals, under the cover given by Pakistan Army launched repeated attacks on forward post of Indian Army in the Poonch sector. Along with 22 other terrorists, he sneaked into Kashmir valley via Kupwara in Sept. 1991. In Kashmir, he trained the cadre of the *Hizbul Mujahideen* terrorist outfit. At that time there were 45 foreign mercenaries working with *Hizbul Mujahideen* as revealed by him. He also exposed the ISI plan of selecting Muslim young men from various parts of India for training them in arms to organise terrorist activities all over India. Imtiaz was arrested on Jan. 6, 1993.

An orphan of Afghan war, Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din resident of Kabul, took to robberies after the death of his father and four brothers. To begin with Kashmiri terrorist outfit *Al Umar Mujahideen* recruited him. He was given Rs. 4,000 by Pak Army officials, before crossing LOC along with 50 trained and heavily armed terrorists via *Kupwara* sector. He joined *Pan-Islamic* terrorist outfit *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* in Nov. 1991 after defection from the previous outfit. He then took part in an armed attack on civilian police station at *Soura*, Srinagar. He was then used for attacking the bunkers of security forces in the Anantnag district. Subsequently he again changed his outfit and joined *Ikhwan-ul-Mujahideen*. He was in fact turned out of *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* for developing illicit relations with the sister of a fellow terrorist. He again changed his outfit and joined *Al Barq* a pro-Pak outfit. He was arrested on Dec. 22, 1992.

Mohammad Arif Khan, a resident of Karachi, having sympathies with *Mahajir Quami Movement* was influenced by the speeches of *Maulana Masood Azhar*, which he heard from his urdu cassettes. His speeches forcefully advocated for joining *Jehad*. He received an 80-day arms training in the training camp at *Maskar* in a forest on the Afghan border. During May 1994, he took part in an operation against security forces. On May 5, he was arrested

on Indo-Bangladesh border. He disclosed that ISI was running training centre at *Maskar* for imparting training to mercenaries of Pakistan and other countries.

A dreaded terrorist Matin, a resident of Mirpur, POK, was inducted into Kashmir by *Harkat-ul-Ansar* in 1994 along with 15 trained terrorists. Between Nov. 1996 and Jan. 1997 he toured many important cities of India including *Deoband*, *Muzaffarnagar*, *Meerut*, *Agra*, *Delhi*, *Shimla* and *Calcutta*. After his arrest on May 5, 1997, he revealed that he had the plan of blowing the *Taj Mahal* and abducting Cricket star Kapil Dev. He admitted that he had been responsible for explosions in Jaipur Stadium on Republic day, 1996 and the Modi Nagar bomb blast in the month of Feb. the same year. He also confessed that he killed one Swedish tourist in Agra in 1996. He also made an interesting revelation of the proposal of ISI and *HUA* of inducting the *Talibans* in the valley. He also disclosed how the *Harkat-ul-Ansar* was imparting training to its cadres. The training courses were of three types.

- (i) *Toushishya*—40-day basic training.
- (ii) *Gendula*—4-month training capsule.
- (iii) *Special training*.

40-day basic training was given in handling of small arms, rocket launchers and grenades etc. Religious indoctrination and physical exercise were the part of this training course. Four months training capsule constituted of handling and fabrication of explosive devices, IED, guerrilla warfare tactics and handling of wireless sets etc. Special training was given in martial arts, missiles, mortars and handling of communication equipment. Imparting of these training courses was organised at *Jawar-Pakia* and *Khalid bin Walid* training camps in Afghanistan.

A *Madrasa* product, with criminal background, Mohammad Zakaria, a resident of village *Bhedian*, district Kasoor, Punjab, Pakistan received two months training in fire arms and *Deni Talim* along with other 14 cadres under *Lashkar-e-Toiba*, *Khudian Khas* training camp. In their training instructors prepared them for *Jihad* narrating provoking tales of persecution of *Muslims* in India

and the excesses by security forces in Kashmir. Along with 12 other terrorists he was inducted into Kashmir valley in April 1995, through *Kupwara* route. They were paid Rs. 1.5 Lakhs in cash and a consignment of arms and ammunition. His area of operation was *Doda* district in Jammu. He had an assignment of, visiting other parts of India. He visited Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar districts of UP to establish the network of *Lashkar-e-Toiba*. He was arrested on Nov. 29, 1996.

Nasir Ikram, a resident of Gujjar Khan, Rawalpindi was carried away by Pakistan press and electronic media propaganda about the persecution of *Muslims* in Kashmir and joined *Jum Almi*, a broke away group of *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen*. He decided to take part in *Jehad* in Kashmir in May 1993. In July-August the same year he received 33-day arms training in the Yawar area of *Khost* at *Pharsi Gund* training centre of Afghanistan. The trainees were given training in arms of various types. They were also subjected to rigorous religious indoctrination. After training he was inducted into the valley of Kashmir through Baramulla sector along with other terrorist colleagues. They were given Rs. 3,000 by the officials of ISI. He was arrested on August 8, 1994.

A teenager, Mohammad Ramzan was recruited by the *Markaz Dawat-ul-Arshad* in Feb. 1992. He received training in advanced guerrilla warfare at *Markaz-e-Toiba*, Asadabad in Afghanistan. He was exposed to advanced weapons like anti-aircraft guns and ballistic missiles. At *Markaz-e-Aksa*, Afghanistan he received 3 months commando training. He along with other 19 guerrillas was sent to Kashmir for terrorist activities after receiving proper briefing from ISI officer. Col. Saleem. They were given proper weapons, ammunition besides two computerised wireless sets. Before he was arrested in May 1994, he had become the Chief of the *Ansar-ul-Mujahideen*.

The examination of the above confessions shows that the target of terrorist violence is not only Kashmir but also whole of India. All the terrorists inducted are first trained. All of them are given weapons and cash by ISI of Pakistan. All the terrorists are sent to Afghanistan for practical experience. Religious indoctrination is part of their training. Arrangements have been made for the training

of youth from UP in Kashmir. Training centres have been established at the higher elevations of Kashmir's mountains and forests. Mostly these terrorists are school dropouts, semi-literates, drug addicts, destitute orphans, *Madrassa* products, teenagers and young men with criminal background. They travel on fictitious passports and Bangladesh is one of the prominent routes of their illegal travel. Mostly *Islamic Jihad* is their motivation, but they indulge in criminal acts of abduction and rape. Revelations have been made that they had the plans of blasting the *Taj Mahal* and kidnapping of cricket legend Kapil Dev. Some of them have been trained in handling highly sophisticated weapons and equipment like missiles, anti-aircraft guns and computerised wireless sets.

Foreign Mercenaries

Foreign mercenaries did not only belong to Pakistan or POK but to many other countries far and wide. Hundreds of them have sneaked into the valley and the other parts of the state. More than eleven hundred of them have been killed and arrested by security forces. By July 1998, the total number of foreign mercenaries killed and arrested along with the names of their respective countries is given below:⁸⁵

S. No.	Name of the Country	No. Killed	No. Arrested
1.	Pakistan/POK	250	96
2.	Afghanistan	267	22
3.	Egypt	1	—
4.	Sudan	8	—
5.	Yemen	4	—
6.	United Kingdom	—	1
7.	Bahrain	1	2
8.	Lebanon	—	1
9.	Tajikistan	2	1
10.	Turkey	1	—
11.	Bangladesh	1	2
12.	Algeria	1	—
13.	Saudi Arabia	2	—
14.	Iraq	1	—
15.	Nepal	1	—
16.	Others	440	2
Grand Total		980	127

Hundreds of them are operating in the state. They have managed their hideouts in the higher reaches of *Pirpanjal Range*. Everyday they are killed but many more are trickling in a regular chain. In fact Pakistan has established a special department at Karachi airport and put it under an ISI major with Afghan experience. This Department has been masqueraded under a signboard 'Director of Immigration'. The department looks after the proper entry of volunteers from different countries and their despatch to Peshawar. The volunteers for *Ikhwan* are processed by *Maktab-e-Khidmat* (Service Office). The late Shyakh Abd. Azzam originally established it, but is now run by his successor Shyakh Mohammad Yussuf Abbas. Many of the volunteers are despatched to numerous training centres run by *Arab, Afghan* militants inside Afghanistan. All these trained young men are distributed and deputed to various countries by ISI of Pakistan. A major chunk is sent to Kashmir, which forms the regular trickle of foreign mercenaries to the valley. "The actual arrival of foreign *Muslim* mercenaries in large numbers in the Kashmir valley commenced after the melting of snows in April 1993. The pro-Pakistan *Hizbul Mujahideen*, *Al Barq* and *Pan-Islamic Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami* and *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* were the main militant organisations, which started bringing the mercenaries in large numbers. By the end of 1993 an estimated 800 foreign mercenaries mainly from Afghanistan and Pakistan with a few from other countries had arrived in the valley."⁸⁶ By June 1994, there were estimated about 1,200 foreign mercenaries in Kashmir and Doda.

Qualitative Change in Terrorist Carnage

After the appearance of the foreign mercenaries on the Kashmir scene, there was qualitative change in the terrorist activities in the state. Following new and difficult routes of infiltration, they arrived in Kashmir to engage security forces in fierce encounters inflicting heavy casualties on them. The other very important dimension, which they added to their activities, was to establish the training centres to train the cadres both from Kashmir and other parts of India especially UP. A huge training camp of *Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-*

Islami with a tarred parade ground and well-protected bunkers along with highly sophisticated training equipment came to light in 1993 in the Kopran area of the Anantnag district. Hardened foreign mercenaries were ruthless with civilians. Trained as they were in obeying orders, they did not hesitate to enact the carnage at *Wandhama*, Kashmir. *Wandhama* is a small village situated at the foothill of a mountain range leading to *Sonamarg* and on the bank of Sindh with excellent scenic beauty. At dead of night on Jan. 25, 1998, when they were fast asleep on a cold and frosty winter night, 10 men, 9 women and 2 infants belonging to the Kashmiri Pandit community were woken from their sweet sleep, collected and then huddled at a particular place and mowed down with their guns. Thus were 23 lives, the remnants of over 5,000 years old rich history of Kashmir destroyed by *Islamist Jehadists*. Earlier on March 21, 1997, these brigands had by proxy got seven members of a Kashmiri Pandit family, out of their house at *Sangrampora, Beeru* in Kashmir valley and then gunned them down. That was under the directions of ISI to send signal to those Kashmiri Pandits who toyed the idea of returning to Kashmir.

Training

It was way back in 1986 onwards, as admitted by the former army chief, of Pakistan, Mr. Aslam Beg, that thousands of ISI trained Kahmiri youth were sent to Afghanistan for an exposure on battle experience in the field. Initially one batch of Jammu and Kashmir terrorist volunteers were trained by Brigadier Saleem in *Chattar Ambore* near Muzaffarabad and *Ghari Dupata* on the banks of the *Jehlum* on J.V. Road. Pakistan was quietly preparing for a guerrilla action in Kashmir. A joint training programme of Sudanese and Libyan experts was devised to train ISI operatives manning Kashmir desk. The training programme included four important ingredients:

1. Propagation of religious fundamentalism in small but lethal doses to promote separatism and rabid communal outlook.
2. To create militant cadres and to indoctrinate and train

- the selected leaders from Kashmir valley.
3. Training in arms, usage of explosives and the art of active terrorism in urban areas after mobilising youth from Kashmir valley and Poonch area of Jammu.
 4. Establishment of various political fronts in the valley of Kashmir to devise incidents to damage the democratic and secular image of India in Kashmir and then organise strikes and boycotts.

The terrorist outfits whose cadres were trained under the joint programme were: *Allah Tigers*, *Al Umar Mujahideen*, *Jamat-e-Islami*, *Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen*, *Hizbul Mujahideen*, *Hizb-e-Islami*, *Nasir-ul-Islam*, *Janbaz Mujahideen* and *Harkat-ul-Jehad*. Even *Turabi and Uthman*, the terrorist leaders of Sudan, personally trained some terrorist outfits, including *Jamat-e-Islami* of Pakistan, *Hizb-e-Islami* and *Jamat-e-Islami* of Afghanistan and *Hizbul Mujahideen* of Kashmir. General Akhtar Rehman (who died along with Zia-ul-Haq in an air crash) the author of the Zia plan who was also the ISI chief, was directly involved in the joint training programme. The other Generals involved were Lt. General Hamid Gul, Lt. General Shamas-ur Rehman, Maj. General Durani, Maj. General Naseer Akhtar and Lt. General Javid Nasir.

According to the US Task force Report on terrorism, another integral besides the 'joint training' programme was the visit of Afghan commanders, *Tayib-al-Afghani*, *Murad-al-Afghani* and *Haji Banua*, specialist in subversive technology to various camps in Pakistan for training Kashmiri youth. These leaders are well known for their brutality and clinical handling of extremely violent scenarios. They are also experts of Islamic interpretation of terrorism. *Janbaz Mujahideen* was assigned the task of training Kashmiri terrorists in POK in subversion and "bloody hits". This wing is commanded by Afghans and Sudanese. It is headed by an ISI trained person, Parvez Haider at present. Under its training programme the ISI has created a Pakistani special force, which has been dressed in Indian Army uniform. As such they masquerade the valley and operate in major crises. They indulge in bloody hits as was done at Chatisinghpura in Kashmir on President Clinton's

visit to India. The first batch of such terrorists was sent to Kashmir in 1991 and its commander was Col. Farooq.

The training to the cadres of various terrorist outfits is imparted in scores of training camps established in Pakistan, POK and Afghanistan. By 1991 there were 91 such camps in POK, 72 in Pakistan and 21 in Afghanistan.⁸⁷ Though Pakistan is feigning ignorance overtly yet thousands of terrorists are being trained in these camps and then sent across the world to spread the *Islamic Jihad*. Major chunk of these trained militants are sent to India for terrorist activities in Kashmir and its other parts. The well known and the most prominent of these training camps are:

1. *Markaz Abdiil-bin-Masood in Muzaffarabad, POK.*
2. *Markaz-ul-Kura in Chilbandi, Muzaffarabad, POK.*
3. *Markaz-e-Aksa, Kotli, Muzaffarabad, POK.*
4. *Markaz-e-Toiba in Kandhar, Pak-Afghanistan border.*

One more camp is located at Balakot, Garhi Habib Ullah, POK. Markaz Abdul-bin-Masood has the potential of training about 2,000 terrorists and *Markaz-ul-Kura* in Chilabandi about 1,000 cadres. *Markaz-e-Aksa* and *Markaz-e-Toiba* are meant for imparting specialised advanced training and they have the strength of training about 800 cadres together at a time. Osama bin Laden often visits these camps for indoctrinating the mujahids for *Islamic Jihad*. These camps, besides training terrorists for Kashmir, train the militants from Chechnya, America (Negro's), Egypt, Sudan, Burma, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, South Africa, Britain (Muslims) and Afghanistan. They also train, especially the cadres belonging to *Lashkar-e-Toiba*, *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen*, *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen-e-Islami*, and the deadliest of terrorist outfits.

Weapons

After receiving the training the Kashmir desk of ISI takes the decision about deployment, supply of weapons and the logistic support. The supply of weapons apart, the Pakistan Army stage-managing the insurgency in the state, in order to give cover to infiltrating terrorists, fires tons of ammunition. According to the

army estimates, only in first six months of 1998, Pakistan Army fired more than 10,50,000 small arm rounds and 17,000 artillery rounds, 20,000 anti-aircraft rounds and 1,000 rocket propelled grenades.⁸⁸ The weapons supplied range from small arms to highly sophisticated types. Even SA-7 Strella, a heat seeking surface to air missile with its potentiality akin to US Stinger was recovered on April 30, 1993. Similarly, a missile and its launcher were recovered in the *Kupwara* sector of the Line of Control, though it exploded during its transportation. What were exactly the weapons supplied to various terrorist outfits can well be gauged from the list of weapons captured by security forces upto July 1999.⁸⁹

S. No.	Weapons	No. Captured
1.	Sniper Rifles	312
2.	Machine Guns	1,156
3.	AK Series Rifles	20,695
4.	Bombs	2,014
5.	Pistols/Revolvers	8,363
6.	Guns	1,646
7.	Mines	5,946
8.	Grenade Launchers	67
9.	Grenades	37,368
10.	Rocket Boosters	1,787
11.	Explosives (Kgs.)	24,918
12.	W. T. Sets	2,462
13.	Ammunition (assorted) (Thousands)	3,326
14.	Rocket Launchers	923
15.	Mortars	150
16.	Rockets	3,269

Pakistan's Involvement

Apart from Kashmir desk of ISI and the global terrorist body at the apex, there is the *Jehad* Council headed by Pakistan ISI, which controls and commands terrorism in Kashmir. It is located at *Muzaffarabad*, POK. Representatives of all the pro-Pakistan terrorist outfits are on the council. This council acts as the spokesperson of all the pro-Pakistan outfits before the Government of Pakistan. It projects the requirements of the arms and ammunition and other logistic support on behalf of those outfits. It raises and distributes

funds to concerned terrorist groups. Pakistan's involvement had been proved beyond doubt when about 3488 Pakistan trained militants caught in the hinterland, about 820 caught on Indo-Pak border and another 764 having surrendered voluntarily, confessed that they had been trained, weaponised and financed by ISI of Pakistan Government.

Certain officers who belonged to Kashmir Government have been caught for acting as Pakistan agents for carrying out Pakistan's game plan in Kashmir. On Feb. 2, 1992 Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Sheikh, Administrative Officer, Jehlum Valley Medical College, Srinagar and Mufti Mehraj-ud-Din Farooqui a former Additional Advocate General of Jammu and Kashmir government were arrested at New Delhi. Mr. Sheikh was a professor in Government College before he took over as the Administrative Officer. Mr. Sheikh was the prominent member of *JKLF* and worked under the pseudonym of '*Khalid*'. Between 1968-71 he was found having connection with *Al-Fateh*, a subversive outfit since 1962. He had been in touch with *Mansha* of Pakistan Intelligence for organising disturbances in 1965. In 1985 he was in contact with Mustafa Hussain Ali a counsellor in Pakistan High Commission, under whose advice he visited Rawalpindi in 1985 for consultations with ISI officers. He again went in March-April 1990 and met Col. Assad of Pakistan ISI for monitoring the training programme and supply of arms and ammunition to *JKLF*. Mr. Sheikh and his other accomplice Mr. Farooqui visited Nepal three times in 1991 to meet Brigadier Noman Kallim Ullah a second secretary of the High Commission and ISI officers who had been flown to Nepal for a meeting with them. An amount of Rs. 6,50,000 were given to them for hiring a shop and a safe house for their activities. The shop was to be set up as a cover up. At Srinagar, they were given Rs. 4,00,000 before visiting Kathmandu. In New Delhi they were given Rs. 14,00,000 for financing *JKLF* in the valley. Prof. Sheikh made all these revelations in police interrogation.

Besides training, weaponising and financing various terrorist outfits in Kashmir, Pakistan Government had raised three regular battalions comprising of young men from Kashmir, POK and

Afghanistan and named these as Kashmir Light Infantry. These battalions have been stationed at *Astor* and *Lipi Valley* in *Jura* and *Kaminar*. The Pakistan officers commanding these battalions hail mostly from Bluchistan and the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP). The way these battalions have been positioned is something ominous and smacks of Pakistani intentions.

Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir has been minutely detailed by US Task Force Report on Terrorism, 1993, US congress documents, June' 1994 and the American State Departments Reports on 'Patterns in Global Terrorism' of 1992 and 1993. Such an involvement in Kashmir has been even admitted by Pakistanis. So stated a noted journalist of Pakistan in 1991, "———The approach which Pakistan has apparently adopted is an Afghan model, essentially a protracted war which has made Kashmir into a bleeding wound for India."⁹⁰ It was not only training the militants, providing them weaponry and financial support for operations in Kashmir, but also provides its territory as the base for these unlawful activities. In fact the fruits of aggression in the shape of Pak-occupied territory of Kashmir has been used as a jumping of ground for further aggression on India's sovereign territory of Kashmir. "Pakistan not only made its land available for providing arms training and motivation along *Islamic* fundamentalist lines, to Kashmir youth, under the direct supervision and control of its Army and Intelligence agencies, but has also been liberally arming them with sophisticated weapons and financing the ongoing militancy in Jammu and Kashmir since 1988."⁹¹ The fact that governor of Punjab Shahid Hamid and the Minister of Information of Pakistan, Mushahid Hussain and other ministers of Punjab Government visited the headquarters of *Lashkar-e-Toiba* in *Muridke* near Lahore in April 1998 and hailed the activities of *Markaz Dawat-al-Arshad*, confirms beyond any shadow of doubt the involvement of Pakistan in training and sponsoring terrorist outfits for insurgency and terrorism in Kashmir.⁹²

The issue of Pakistan's official involvement in Kashmir has finally been confirmed by no less than the President of America—Clinton. On his visit to the Indian sub-continent in March 1999, President Clinton made a categorical statement to Peter Jennings

ABC News correspondent—"That there are elements in Pakistani Government that have supported those who are engaged in violence in Kashmir."⁹³ In a direct broadcast to the people of Pakistan he told them, "No matter how great the grievance, it is wrong to support attacks against civilians across the *Line of Control*." Once more the lies repeated by Pakistan were exposed. They had attempted to bluff the world after crossing the *Line of Control* in Kargil, but the world powers called of their bluff and President Clinton made Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Nawaz Sharief to withdraw from Kargil, notwithstanding the fact that the Indian Army mauled the Pakistan's North Infantry in the area.

Apart from Pakistan's own interest in Kashmir, it is obliged as an active partner of the global terrorist movement, which it coordinates through its Inter Service intelligence wing to launch *Jehad* in Kashmir. The global terrorist network centred in Afghanistan has Pakistan and POK as its strongest outposts. It consists of the *Taliban*, the ISI Pakistan based fundamentalist parties with their own trained militant cadres, Osama-bin Laden's terrorist web and glowing amalgam of extremist groups operating in North Africa, West Asia, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Over the last decade and more these groups have come together through expert coordinating skills of Bin Laden and ISI and are now heirs to an impressive infrastructure based on faith, funds, links and sources."⁹⁴ Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir has the backing of global *Jehad* movement. It is therefore that we find mercenaries belonging to all the countries where the Jehadi outfits are active.

Narcotic Financing of Proxy War

A multidimensional protracted proxy war through their terrorist outfits in the vast plain and mountainous areas of Jammu and Kashmir State required gigantic effort besides huge resources to finance the operations. Pakistan managed it through their meagre budget, the sale of narcotics, hawala trade and currency counterfeiting. The major source was the hard cash proceeds from the sale of narcotics. "The trinity of countries—Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran—Known as 'Golden Crescent' to law

enforcement agencies around the world emerged as the source of a great deal of heroin found on the streets of New York and Paris, rivalling even the infamous Golden Triangle of Burma, Thailand and Laos."⁹⁵ Pakistan tapped this source to its maximum. It also lent credence to the drug barons to continue the illicit trade. Pakistan army officers having the vested interest encouraged the trend. Some of the Pakistani leaders and the owners of big landed estates are deeply involved in this profit making dispensation.

It was way back in 1994 when former Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Nawaz Sharief made a stunning revelation about the collusion of Pakistan Intelligence chiefs and Army officers together striking big drug deals to raise funds for financing covertly the terrorist operations in foreign countries. Though, it was denied, yet the fresh evidence confirms the charges. A drug despatch of August 1994 quoting Dutch authorities stated, "The conflict which plagued Kashmir since 1990, along with the *Sikh* separatist movement in the Indian Punjab, have been led to the appearance throughout Europe of Pakistani Heroin trafficking and money laundering networks."⁹⁶ Pakistani nationals manned these networks. Anti-narcotics police in European countries knew it. The source further points to the involvement of, "the Pakistani ring leaders operating as part of K-II/Topec conducted by Pakistan's military intelligence organisation, the Inter Service Intelligence Directorate (ISI)."⁹⁷ According to the authorities from Netherlands the key players behind the networks are, Iqbal Seth from Sialkot, Ahmad Tanvir and Hamid Bakth from Rawalpindi, Chowdhry Basir, Jan Mohammad Chaudhry, Javid Khan from Jalalabad in Afghanistan and Shahid Hussain Ghulam from Gujranwalla, Pakistan.

The networks were not confined to Netherlands only, other countries of Europe also especially France and England had these networks. A Kashmiri run restaurant on Champs-Elysees in Paris acted as such. Police from this centre seized about one million French francs. A meeting place was fixed for militants belonging to various organisations in a mosque. Pakistanis and North African Muslims freely mixed there. The mosque was near an *Islamic* information Centre in the 10th Arrondissment. A video sales shop

in the same locality also was part of the network. It was to this place that one Mr. Akhtar Maheer an Urdu journalist was deputed by ISI in 1988 to infiltrate and watch *Sikh* militant groups. All these centres acted as money laundering points in which drugs also were sold.

A report of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) in Feb. 1994 on the illicit opiate industry of Pakistan informs that production, refinement and distribution of opiates inside Pakistan and through it, is greater than the estimates made by the Government of United States. It puts the range of production in both Pakistan and Afghanistan about 2,300 metric tons out of which 2,000 metric tons are produced in Afghanistan alone. Out of the total of 2,300 metric tons 1,500 tons are processed in Pakistan, which come to about 150 metric tons of pure heroin. Out of it Pakistan uses 80 tons and rest is exported. The annual estimated revenue from the drug exports to Pakistan is 1.5 billion dollars and out of it 1.3 billion dollars are only on account of Heroin.

The financing of terrorist activities with the proceeds from the sales of narcotics is only one side of the coin and the most dangerous dimension not visible to the eye is the vested interest, which the most influential lobby of Pakistan had developed in narcotics. Terrorism lends a fine cover and provides invisible vehicles for the transportation of narcotics. Hauls of weapons and Heroin travel together. Terrorism breeds fine environment for drug trafficking. When the drug barons and the army generals develop common interest, there is least hope of getting rid of terrorism. Sometimes we find settlements' becoming impossible without rhyme or reason and the only explanation is the covert sabotage by the vested interests. All well meaning persons became helpless while making revelation about the collusion between the army and ISI. Nawaz Sharief said, that even as Prime Minister of Pakistan he lacked means of ensuring the implementation of his orders for not going ahead with drug plan. Both the army and ISI ignored his orders and went ahead for establishing the network, he conceded himself.

Topec-2 Introduced

Lately Pakistan has introduced new policy in Kashmir and has code-named it as *Topec-2*. To this phase belongs the *Kargil* conflict and post *Kargil* situation in Kashmir. Under this policy more money and sophisticated arms and ammunition have been pumped, for more experienced and dreaded terrorist mercenaries who have been inducted into Kashmir. Leadership of their operations has been handed over invariably to non-Kashmiri terrorist mercenaries. According to the original *Topec* policy prepared during Presidentship of General Zia-ul-Haq outright aggression against India was to be avoided unless provoked for such an action. It had three fault lines k-1, k-2, and k-3. These fault lines were Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and North east respectively. Previously terrorist outfits did not directly confront the security forces. They stealthily shot at or threw grenades on the security forces. They took to kidnapping and killing of their opponents, but now it is head on collision with army. The attack on army headquarters as at Srinagar, Pattan and Kupwara. They use suicide squads to harm and demoralise security forces. Blowing of army vehicles by laying land mines has become common under the new policy. *Topec-2* also envisages to internationalise the Kashmir issue as was attempted during President Clinton's visit to India. Actually *Topec-2* is not new policy. It is in fact Phase-II of the operation *Topec* used earlier. There is also an opinion, which believes that operation *Topec* was nothing but a figment of imagination of Indian Defence Intelligence. But there is evidence from Pakistan sources that President Zia-ul-Haq had already given orders to General Akhtar Rehman to prepare a plan for the liberation of Kashmir, which he had already prepared but was prematurely implemented in Kashmir because of his death in a air crash along with Zia-ul-Haq. If it were the brainchild of Indian Defence Intelligence, it could not unfold in Kashmir exactly as it was laid on paper. In phase-II of the operation it was laid that they should attack headquarters of army and even the name of Srinagar, Pattan and Kupwara were given in the plan. Even *Kargil* is named. Whole strategy, which terrorist outfits are following, is laid in the *Operation Topec*. Even if it could have been constructed from the fragments of information

from Pakistan, it could not be called the brainchild of India's defence Intelligence.

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